

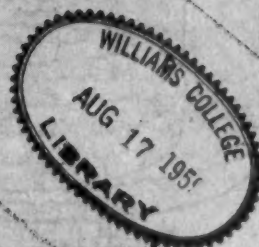
AFL - CIO



# FEDERATIONIST

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## GEORGE MEANY SAYS:



"The AFL-CIO is in complete accord with the great majority of the American people in favor of legislation that will help get the crooks without harassing and impeding the forward progress of legitimate and decent labor unions....

"New legislation should be aimed at the crooks, not at the decent, law-abiding unions and their decent, law-abiding members."

IF YOU WANT TO STOP CORRUPTION AND NOT HARM HONEST UNIONS,  
LET YOUR CONGRESSMAN KNOW THAT YOU FAVOR THE SHELLEY BILL

# "See you at the Union Meeting"



**IF YOU** want your union to do a good job for you and to be clean and democratic, remember that you must do your part by being a **REAL** trade unionist all the time.

One of the most valuable contributions you and your fellow members can make is by regular attendance at the meetings of your local union. Bear in mind that union meetings are very important and it's your duty to be present. Don't miss the meetings if you want your union to be clean, effective and democratic.



*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

AUGUST, 1959

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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## *In This Issue*

EFFECTIVE LEGISLATION IS BACKED BY AFL-CIO .....	2
STEEL FIRMS REPORT RECORD PROFITS .....	3
THE ILO CONFERENCE .....	4
WISCONSIN REPORT—UNITED AND THRIVING .....	6
RELIGION AND LABOR WORKING TOGETHER ..	8
HOW THEY DO IT IN EUROPE .....	10
THE PHOTO ENGRAVERS .....	14
UNION MEMBERS ARE LOYAL .....	17
YOUR UNION CAN GET PUBLICITY .....	18
SUKARNO AND 'GUIDED DEMOCRACY' .....	19
CONSERVATION AND JOBS .....	21
LABOR BACKS ANTI-POLLUTION BILLS .....	22
TWUA TO APPEAL HENDERSON CONVICTIONS .....	22
ALABAMA IS OPTIMISTIC .....	23
LET'S HUMANIZE OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS ..	25
AS IT LOOKS FROM VERMONT .....	28
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS .....	31
WHAT THEY SAY .....	32

## *Showcase*

I find it a bit ironic that the people who are so determined to tear down our American labor movement are the same people who fear communism the most. They never seem to realize that the labor movement in America—by helping more people to share in the fruits of free enterprise—has successfully blunted any appeal that communism might otherwise have had.

In this way—and many others—organized labor is one of the chief foundations of our free enterprise system. It is also, in the eyes of the free world, the best showcase we have of how workers achieve justice on the job in a free enterprise system.

Those who are trying to destroy our labor movement are not only weakening the image of a democratic America abroad. They are also weakening the solidarity of the American people at home. In the face of a grimly determined Communist enemy, this is a time when we need solidarity—based on mutual trust and confidence between labor and management—more than ever.

The real enemies of management and labor in America are not each other but those who would weaken American democracy by setting class against class. It is they who are playing the game of the Communists.

If legislation is to be enacted, let it be based on a recognition that unions are not one of the weaknesses or even one of the luxuries of a democratic system—but rather are one of the necessities of a free enterprise economy. With that recognition and with that kind of legislation, the labor movement can then forge ahead in its determination to give America the cleanest, most democratic and best system of trade unionism in the world.

*Al J. Hayes.*

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# EFFECTIVE LEGISLATION IS BACKED BY AFL-CIO

**T**HE TASK of Congress, in enacting labor-management legislation, is to stop corruption and racketeering without inflicting injury on legitimate trade unions, AFL-CIO President George Meany emphasized in a radio address to the nation over the NBC network as action by the House of Representatives neared.

The AFL-CIO head urged approval of the Shelley bill, saying:

"We sincerely believe it will do the job of getting rid of the crooks who have wormed their way into a few unions. We believe it will do an effective job of preventing unholy alliances between dishonest unions and dishonest employers.

"We are convinced that it will not interfere unnecessarily in legitimate labor-management activities. The Shelley bill is anti-racketeer, not anti-labor.

"These are the objectives that the AFL-CIO seeks in labor reform legislation. We urge Congress to keep its sights on these objectives.

"If you want to stop corruption and not harm legitimate unions, we hope you will let your Congressman know immediately that you favor the Shelley bill."

President Meany noted that "this is a critical moment" in the legislative history of the American labor movement, with Congress in the process of enacting "what is described as labor reform legislation."

"The Senate," he said, "already has passed a bill on this subject which the trade union movement considers detrimental to the future of American labor. Now the House of Representatives is about to consider several bills on this subject—namely, the Elliott bill, reported by the House

Committee on Education and Labor; the Landrum-Griffin bill, which has the support of a coalition of Republican and Southern Democratic members, and the Shelley bill, which has the support of the AFL-CIO."

President Meany emphasized that the AFL-CIO is in complete agreement with the great majority of the American people "in favor of legislation that will help get the crooks without harassing and impeding the forward progress of legitimate and decent labor unions."

"Unfortunately," he said, "there are forces at work whose only real purpose is to hamper and, if possible, to destroy the effectiveness of legitimate trade unions. They consider the exposure of corrupt leadership in a small minority of unions as too good an opportunity to be missed in order to fasten restrictive legislation on the entire movement.

"Under the guise of legislation against corruption, they want to tie up legitimate union activities with legal knots, thus making it difficult, if not impossible, for the trade union movement to carry on its work for economic and social progress."

The Elliott bill, Mr. Meany said, would make effective conduct of ordinary union business "extremely difficult," and he described the "much worse" Landrum-Griffin substitute proposal as "a blunderbuss that would inflict grievous harm on all unions."

The Landrum-Griffin bill has the all-out endorsement of President Eisenhower. He has called it "a good start toward a real labor reform law." Mr. Meany did not mention President Eisenhower in his speech, but the AFL-CIO president noted that the Landrum-Griffin bill "is supported by the



very elements in Congress which have consistently through the years voted for the program of big business and against every progressive measure that would benefit all the American people."

In discussing the Shelley bill, Mr. Meany pointed to its provisions "against thievery and racketeering." These provisions, he said, are stronger than those in the Elliott or Landrum-Griffin bills.

"Unlike those bills," Mr. Meany declared, "the Shelley bill would also require full reporting from business firms of expenditures for union-busting activities and the hiring of labor spies. But it does not contain any provisions which would restrict, harass or punish the legitimate activities of honest and decent unions. In other words, the Shelley bill is aimed at getting rid of crooks, instead of getting rid of unions. For these reasons we support it fully and we hope that the House of Representatives will adopt it."

Mr. Meany told the nationwide radio audience that, as the AFL-CIO has made abundantly clear in the past, its position remains that it will not support or accept legislation that would restrict and punish honest trade unions.

Analyzing the Elliott bill, he said it contains provisions that safeguard the funds of union members, that protect union members against abuses and that provide criminal penalties for a variety of "intolerable" racketeering practices.

"We are 100 per cent in favor of these provisions," Mr. Meany declared. "But the Elliott bill also contains other provisions.

"It would place the officers of 65,000 local unions in jeopardy of being found in violation of a federal criminal statute in discharging their normal duties.

"It would prohibit honorable organizational practices and procedures upon which labor has built its present-day structure.

"It would expose unions to the danger of endless litigation, not over real issues but at the whim of one or two individuals, who might be subsidized by hostile employers or by Communists to undertake such harassment.

"It would make it extremely difficult for the average union to conduct its normal business in a straightforward, effective way.

"Because of these provisions we must oppose and we do oppose the Elliott bill."

Mr. Meany then turned to the Landrum-Griffin bill. He noted that this proposal "also contains a number of anti-racketeering provisions which are similar to those in the Elliott bill."

"Again the AFL-CIO is 100 per cent in favor," Mr. Meany said. "But the Landrum-Griffin bill goes a lot further than the Elliott bill in penalizing legitimate practices of legitimate unions.

"It would subject a union presiding officer to a two-year jail sentence merely for blocking a disorderly person from disrupting a meeting.

"It would require even the smallest local unions, without paid officers, to file a burdensome amount of red-tape reports.

"It would force union members against their will and against their basic principles to handle 'struck' goods.

"It would prohibit any union from advertising to the public that an employer is unfair to labor, pays substandard wages or operates a sweatshop, despite Supreme Court decisions that have held a union has not only a right but a duty to speak out against such abuses.

"It would make it virtually impossible for the average decent union to function effectively.

"For these reasons the AFL-CIO strongly opposes the Landrum-Griffin bill."

### ***Steel Firms Report Record Profits***

As the industry-forced steel strike continues, major steel producers have reported record-shattering profits for the first half of 1959. Nevertheless, the companies are sticking to their "wage freeze" stand and their determination to reduce the United Steelworkers of America to the status of a "company union."

United States Steel, the industry's giant, had net profits of \$255,000,000 for the first six months of the year, compared with \$135,000,000 in the first half of 1958. Other companies reporting were Jones and Laughlin, Inland, Allegheny Ludlum and Crucible.

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, said the financial reports completely demolished the employers' "phony inflation issue."

"Now that this phony position has been exposed by profit figures spread on the record," he said, "I am sure the American people will agree that the men of the mills have been forced into the streets by a cold-blooded plan of an industry that wanted and planned this shutdown for its own selfish reasons."

# THE ILO CONFERENCE

By BERT SEIDMAN

*Mr. Seidman, an economist in the AFL-CIO Department of Research, served as an adviser to the U.S. workers' delegate at the 1958 and 1959 International Labor Conferences. The supreme body of the International Labor Organization is the annual International Labor Conference.*

**T**HE recent International Labor Conference was one of the most stormy and difficult in the forty-year history of the International Labor Organization. But when the sessions ended, the American workers' delegation—and indeed the entire free workers' group—could regard the results of the fortieth anniversary conference with considerable satisfaction.

The big issues in this year's conference, attended by nearly 1,000 delegates, advisers and observers, were political questions in which the free workers and other democratic forces were ranged against the Soviet bloc.

While the delegates didn't flinch from taking necessary action to defeat the Soviet forces, they also found time to take some important decisions aimed at advancing the social and economic welfare of workers throughout the world.

U.S. trade union representatives played a leading part in the conference. The U.S. workers' delegate, Rudolph Faupl, threw down the gauntlet to the Communist delegation early in the conference in his speech discussing the ILO director-general's report.

Other members of the American workers' delegation played a leading part in securing conference acceptance of new international labor standards. They included Vice-President A. E. Edwards of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Secretary-Treasurer George Johansen of the Alaska Fishermen's Union, Vice-President William C. McGovern of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Vice-President Edward Marciniak of the American Newspaper Guild, Vice-President Joseph Salerno of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Vice-President Harry Sayre of the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, Vice-President Elwood Swisher of the Oil,



A leading role at the conference was played by Rudy Faupl of U.S.

Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, and the writer.

Rudy Faupl took his stand against tyranny and despotism in the Soviet world even before the formal opening of the conference. At the meeting of the ILO Governing Body prior to the conference, he challenged the Soviet Union to "eliminate forced labor within its own borders and to use its considerable influence with Communist China to have its pernicious forced labor legislation repealed and its even worse forced labor practices eliminated."

Resuming his attack on totalitarianism behind the Iron Curtain in the early days of the conference, Faupl chose this key sentence in the report of ILO Director-General David A. Morse as the theme for his address:

"Sad experience has made it necessary to specify that there can be no justice in a social or economic society, even one which produces material benefits, unless there is respect for the human person."

Conceding that the Soviet Union and Red China may have made some economic progress, Faupl charged that "their economies are dominated by military purposes and the workers who man their industries and their agriculture are not free to speak their minds, change their jobs, or organize or strike to improve their lot."

He said it is the responsibility of the International Labor Organization to "pursue the facts impartially and disclose to the world every instance of the oppression of freedom wherever it may be found."

The American workers' delegate also pledged U.S. labor's support to the efforts of the ILO and other international organizations "in mobilizing and coordinating economic and material resources on a worldwide scale to assist economic growth and help eliminate economic scarcity."

He said that by such efforts the day might come "when we shall abolish poverty, hunger and want from the face of the earth."

**T**HIS year, as in 1958, the International Labor Conference refused to seat the delegation of Communist Hungary. The vote was closer than a year ago, when the test followed the execution of Hungarian patriots Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter. Nevertheless, the necessary two-thirds majority was obtained in the three separate votes required to unseat the Hungarian government, employer and worker delegates and their advisers.

The entire U.S. delegation, including the worker, employer and government delegates, unanimously opposed seating the Hungarian delegation.

On behalf of the free workers' delegates, Faupl made an impassioned plea to the conference urging rejection of the credentials of the entire delegation. Pointing to Soviet domination of the despotic Kadar re-

gime in Hungary, Faupl said there can be no place in the ILO "for representatives of a regime founded on terror, oppression and foreign domination and control."

In addition to unseating the Hungarian delegation, the delegates had other opportunities to demonstrate their determined opposition to the Soviet bloc by refusing to consider or rejecting a number of Communist-sponsored resolutions introduced in the conference. While some of these resolutions included some non-controversial features, they all contained sections with undisguised Communist-line political implications.

The conference rejected consideration of four resolutions. Two similar Communist-sponsored resolutions on international trade were declared inexpedient because the subject was considered at last year's conference. A resolution dealing with the work of ILO industrial committees was noted and referred to the ILO Governing Body, where this question has been under active consideration. A thinly disguised anti-Israel resolution introduced by the United Arab Republic—ostensibly dealing with "undesirable movements of population and workers"—was rejected as being inappropriate for ILO action.

While rejecting disruptive Communist-line resolutions, the conference adopted a number of constructive resolutions covering such subjects as the operational activities of the ILO, problems of young workers, ILO participation in the proposed International Health and Medical Research Year and ILO activities in underdeveloped countries.

**A**NOTHER issue resulting from Soviet participation in the ILO involved the question of seating Communist so-called "employer representatives" on the technical committees of the conference. These are the committees which consider questions concerning adoption of new and improved international labor standards before full conference action.

The free workers opposed seating Soviet Russia and Soviet satellite countries in the International Labor Organization when they decided to re-affiliate in 1954. However, once the conference accepted the Soviet credentials, the free workers decided not to oppose seating the so-called "workers'" representatives from the Com-

munist countries on the technical committees. On the whole, this arrangement has worked out fairly satisfactorily because it has permitted the free workers the opportunity to challenge the Communist "workers'" delegates directly and successfully on many key issues.

Following a different tactic, the free employers in the ILO have opposed seating the Communist "employer representatives" in the technical committees. This has become a major political issue in recent sessions of the conference, consuming a considerable amount of its time.

To deal with this question, the conference this year adopted a new procedure under which an independent appeal board considers complaints by delegates not seated as voting members of technical committees. This board's decision is final and must be put into effect without debate.

The new procedure was immediately put into effect after its adoption during the early part of the conference. As a result, a number of "employer" delegates from Communist countries were seated in technical committees. When this decision was announced, the free employers walked out of the technical committees in which the Communist had been seated.

Although the free employers have indicated that they will attempt to secure reconsideration of this question, it is doubtful that the decision taken this year will be altered until the new procedure has been tried out for a few years.

The 1959 International Labor Conference took a number of significant actions to advance the welfare of workers by adopting in final or preliminary form several new international instruments.

Three conventions, which have binding force on countries ratifying them, were adopted in final form. They all related to conditions of work of fisherman. These conventions establish a minimum age of 15 for employment on fishing vessels, require a medical examination for fishing employees and establish safeguards for fishermen's articles of agreement by providing that fishermen be covered by contracts and employment records similar to those used in the merchant marine.

The conference adopted a recommendation, a less binding type of instrument, which simply establishes

goals for affiliated countries, providing for the organization of occupational health services in places of employment. In preliminary form, the conference also adopted a draft convention supplemented by a draft recommendation providing for protection of workers against ionizing radiations. These instruments will be acted upon finally next year.

The conference also adopted a draft recommendation providing for encouraging effective consultation and cooperation at the industrial and national levels between public authorities and employers' and workers' organizations. This recommendation, which will also receive final consideration next year, has the general objective of promoting good relations among these groups in order to increase economic prosperity, improve working conditions and raise living standards.

**T**HE conference gave unanimous approval to a report outlining a long-term program to improve conditions of non-manual workers. It singled out the subject of health and safety in shops and offices for possible consideration at an early session of the conference with a view to the adoption of an international instrument establishing international standards in this area.

The American employer delegation at this year's ILO conference continued to oppose virtually all constructive and forward-looking actions.

American employer representatives took a leading part in the effort of free employers to reject seating of Communist "employer" delegates in the technical committees and also vigorously supported other actions directed against the Communist bloc. However, in the eyes of many delegates this worthwhile political action was more than counterbalanced by U.S. em- (Continued on Page 31)

**You** MAKE THE  
DECISIONS  
AT YOUR  
UNION MEETING  
**ATTEND  
REGULARLY**



# United and Thriving

By **GEORGE A. HABERMAN**  
President, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

**W**HEN the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO finally adopted a common constitution and by-laws at the merger convention in Milwaukee last summer, there were some who shook their heads and told themselves:

"It will never work."

Today the State AFL-CIO is a thriving institution which has developed a broad program of service to the trade union membership of Wisconsin. Even the most hard-bitten skeptic confesses that the merger is functioning well.

During the past year we have:

1. Launched an ambitious get-out-the-vote campaign.
2. Conducted a delegate body legislative conference.
3. Conducted a wide variety of community service courses.
4. Assisted in the negotiation of many contracts.
5. Given local unions assistance in time-study problems.
6. Established working agreements with officials of the Wisconsin Farmers Union.
7. Conducted a labor conference for high school and college students.
8. Produced a slide film on political education.
9. Conducted several schools for practical politics.

These are but a sample of the wide range of activities conducted by Wisconsin's new house of labor.

"The Wisconsin Story," produced by our own staff and shown throughout the nation at COPE conferences, symbolizes the motivating spirit of our newly merged state organization. We have pulled together the many divergent parts of the labor movement in Wisconsin and attempted to build a sound framework dedicated to the economic and political advancement of the working people in our state.

Our movie shows how all elements



GEORGE A. HABERMAN

in the labor movement worked harmoniously in building a large registration among union folk and helped to get them to the polls on Election Day by calling at their homes by telephone. We estimate that approximately 325,000 phone calls were made into the homes of union members and their neighbors.

As a result, Wisconsin today has a new liberal Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney-General, plus a liberal majority in the State Assembly and two new liberal Congressmen. The vicious Catlin Act, whose purpose was to clap political handcuffs on labor, has been repealed.

Wisconsin has historically been a pioneer state in hammering out advanced social legislation. The first workmen's compensation law was enacted by our state. Wisconsin had the first unemployment insurance law. Our state tax patterns were the fore-

runner of a national income tax. In all cases trade unions played a leading role in the enactment of these legislative landmarks.

While these laws are today routinely accepted, it is not strange that Wisconsin's economic climate should come under attack from anti-labor employers who seek to blame labor for causing industry to move out of the state.

Today the Wisconsin labor movement is working with Governor Gaylord Nelson in advertising, promoting and enriching the state's economic assets. We have an enviable program of vocational education which has produced each year a rich harvest of skilled labor—one of our most valuable attractions as a state. Again the labor movement helped make this possible.

Organized labor in our state is deeply concerned this year about the enormous problems which confront our state government. We are a people deeply interested in the development of our recreational areas—our lakes, streams and parks. We are also vitally interested in the growth of our state educational facilities.

Highway construction looms as a pressing need. Our mental hospitals and other welfare institutions suffer from fiscal neglect and demands of a growing population.

**T**HE financing of state and local government is a huge problem besetting every state in the Union. Wisconsin has been able to avoid a general levy on consumer sales, even though we have selective excise taxes on many items which are in fact a sales tax. But the pressure among conservative groups for a sales tax mounts every time state finances run into a squeeze.

Governor Nelson has proposed two immediate methods for meeting the



financial crisis facing Wisconsin, both of which have been given enthusiastic support by the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO.

The first proposal was for a pay-as-you-go or withholding system for collecting the state income tax. The second proposal would forgive part of the 1958 tax, but it would provide no help to hard-pressed cities which depend heavily on the regressive residential property tax—and tax collection would still be put on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Along with other representatives of labor, the Wisconsin Farmers Union and interested citizens, the writer appeared at a legislative hearing to emphasize labor's strong support for Governor Nelson's tax proposition. It was pointed out that many of our members are forced to seek out loan sharks to make their tax payments in one lump sum.

**O**UR legislative program, let me underscore, is handled in a most democratic manner. Each week our state legislative committee meets at our state headquarters, where it reviews bills scheduled for hearing the following week. George Hall, our able secretary-treasurer, presides at these meetings and serves as our chief lobbyist at the state capital in Madison. During a brief illness this year, Brother Hall was replaced by Ted James, who assisted Hall during the 1957 session.

Any union member can appear at our weekly legislative committee sessions to present his views on pending state legislative matters. In April, however, when most of the significant bills have been introduced, we conduct a statewide delegate conference where every single bill is reviewed and acted upon officially. Thus our representatives can speak in legislative hearings with the authority of an informed membership to support their views.

This procedure was adopted with the help of Andrew Biemiller, a former Wisconsin State Federation of Labor representative, who is now the director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation in Washington.

Wisconsin is a great agricultural state. While our State Legislature is evenly represented population-wise and is not gerrymandered, the rural interests in our state government are still a great influence. Most of the new liberal members of the 1959

State Legislature came from areas with a heavy Farmers Union membership.

Labor is cooperating actively with the president of the Farmers Union in legislative and political matters. A joint statement approved by our two organizations says in part:

"Wisconsin farm families and city working people are today facing many common problems. Over 40 per cent of the farm people in Wisconsin are compelled to seek part-time city jobs because of depression-level farm prices. Wage-earners find that employment in many industries is shrinking because of ever-increasing automation.

"As forward-looking organizations, the Farmers Union and AFL-CIO are dedicated to building an economic climate where good wages and working conditions can flourish and where farm income can provide decent living standards. To this end, we both favor sturdy, democratic trade unions and cooperatives as ways to promote economic progress for our people."

The joint statement cites ten areas of working agreement—cooperatives, trade unions, tax policy, farm legislation, union security, attacks on REA co-ops, dairy sanitation, bargaining rights, protection of consumer interests and economic expansion.

A significant project started this year was a Youth Conference. Young people were given a chance to hear representatives of the labor movement explain the inner workings of unions, to ask questions about labor and to discuss what unions will fit them when they enter the labor market.

Those who viewed the Wisconsin labor merger as foredoomed to failure are disappointed. Many of the differences which once separated the two groups in Wisconsin's labor ranks are now threshed out in our executive board or on the convention floor, instead of in the columns of the daily newspapers, many of them anti-labor.

The past year has been filled with accomplishments which could not have occurred had it not been for the smooth working relationships which have developed in our new united organization.

A staff equipped to serve labor efficiently in collective bargaining, in political education, in legislative representation, in community services, in recreation, and in education and research is on the job as a constant reminder that labor unity means increased service to the membership.

The Wisconsin State AFL-CIO hopes that the past will be but a prologue. We anticipate new programs and new activity. We hope to improve our lines of communication, using publications, radio and TV as avenues for reaching the public and our own membership. We are working now on a project to get the United Nations better understood by students in our public schools.

We have plans for a Conservation Committee within the State AFL-CIO to alert our people to the need for safeguarding our lakes, streams, forests and wildlife and to promote programs which will enhance Wisconsin's great natural assets and tourist attractions.

With the help of Governor Nelson's office and the University of Wisconsin, we are working on a state conference for economic development. The object is to probe into unemployment resulting from automation, to help in the retraining of workers who have been displaced by automation and to assist state officials in locating worthwhile new industries and expanding old ones.

We envisage a continuing program of progress and community well-being for Wisconsin, based on the work of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO—a new house of labor, united to serve the progressive working people of a great, progressive state.

# Have you contributed your dollar to COPE?

# Religion and Labor Working Together

By **CLAIR M. COOK**, *Executive Director, Religion and Labor Council of America*

**T**HERE are three propositions which I want to sketch in briefly as the background from which such efforts as those of the Religion and Labor Council of America spring.

In the first place, religion and labor belong together. Second, they have historically been and still are too far apart. Third, there has never been a better climate than the present or a greater need for increasing the cooperation and understanding of religion and labor in America.

Religion and labor belong together. As Millard Cass, Deputy Undersecretary of Labor, has put it, "It is significant and more than coincidental that Jesus, Moses and Mohammed did manual work."

We are told in the Scripture that man in the very beginning was commanded by God to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and that God Himself labored six days to create the universe and commanded the seventh as a day of rest.

Historically, both the Hebrew religion and Christianity have had a deep concern for the poor and oppressed. It has been said that Moses led the first strike when he took his people out of the brickyards of Egypt to the Promised Land. Jesus was a carpenter as was Joseph before him, and the disciples were fishermen and ordinary working-class citizens.

Paul made a living as a tent maker, and it is known that there were organizations of workers—the Greek word for them is *thiasoi*—in various occupations, including tent making, roughly comparable to our trade unions. Many of them served as contracting agencies for supplying the Roman legions, for instance, and it is believed that Lydia, the seller of purple, was a sort of business agent for one of the *thiasoi*.

Each group had its own patron



CLAIR M. COOK

deity from the Greek and Roman pantheon, and there are those who believe that the amazingly rapid spread of Christianity was due in part to adoption of the new religion of the Carpenter Christ by whole groups of workers in replacement of their former patron deities.

The medieval guilds always had their patron saints, such as St. Crispin for the shoemakers; the Church encouraged work as a duty to God in the monasteries which pioneered settlement of Europe; and Martin Luther expounded his "doctrine of the calling," that all men are called to their vocations, whatever they be, not alone to the Church.

But, although in all these ways and many more religion and labor have always to some extent gone along together, it is only recently that we have begun in modern society to get back that older sense of doing our work to the glory of God. In the last few years there has been a new emphasis in the Catholic church on the "lay apostolate" and in Protestantism on what is known as "life and work" or "the Christian and his daily work."

No longer is it enough to be a worshiper on Sunday or to keep the Jewish Sabbath. We have today a

new appreciation of the fact that religion and labor belong together.

But until recently the church and the worker have been far apart as a rule. A hundred and twenty years ago, and throughout the Nineteenth Century, not many ordinary workers belonged to or attended church. Employers and merchants were the churches' main attendants and supporters.

Workers had no money to put in the offering plate, no clothes to wear to church. Economic theory accorded them, in the views of Adam Smith and Malthus and Mill, only a bare subsistence wage, and although workers continued to believe in God, they did not believe in the church, which had no sympathy for their new organizations.

Even as late as the 1890s, a resolution of the American Federation of Labor barred clergymen from attending or speaking to conventions.

**I** AM convinced that there has never been a better time for improving the mutual understanding and cooperation of religion and labor in America, and that the need for doing so is very great—perhaps currently even more so from the viewpoint of labor than of religion leaders.

In short, the climate is ripe now, a climate which began to change to greater friendliness by the churches around the turn of the century.

It may come as a shock to Catholics who know their church's strong position as a champion of labor today, and who know the 1891 encyclical of Pope Pius IX "On the Condition of Labor," to be told that in the 1830s there was great opposition by the American Catholic clergy to the labor movement as such.

In Protestantism, in 1877 a leading church journal was so incensed by labor's big railroad strikes that it

titled an editorial on how to treat strikers, "Bring out the Gatling guns."

But in 1903 the Presbyterian Church made Charles Stelzle, a card-carrying journeyman machinist who had become a minister, head of a Department of Church and Labor. For several years he was an annual speaker at AFL conventions.

In 1908 came the great "Social Creed of the Churches" by the Federal Council of Churches, declaring against child labor, for the right of workers to organize, and under the influence of what has been called the "social gospel" of such men as Frank Mason North and Walter Rauschenbusch, planted itself firmly on the side of the rights of workers.

Almost every major denomination has taken its official position since then in support of workers in similar fashion.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference, organized in 1919, has its Social Action Department headed by Msgr. George G. Higgins, and there are many well-known so-called "labor priests" across the country.

The National Council of Churches has its Department of the Church and Economic Life, which conducted the long study resulting in its noted pronouncement that union security should be left to collective bargaining, not to "right to work" legislation.

The Jewish faith, too, has its agencies of concern in this field.

One more important fact in today's climate. Today church membership in America is higher than it has ever been. Why? In part, I believe, because of the labor movement. By that I mean that you in organized labor have secured at last sufficient income so that you have Sunday clothes to wear, so that you can put your dollars into the budget of your church without depriving your family, so that you can consider yourself economically middle class, so to speak, and no longer feel out of place in the middle-class institutions of the church.

A recent study shows that more union members belong to the church—fifty to sixty per cent—than to any other group outside the union.

But I want to add this, with all the strength I can as a minister and also as a former union officer: You who are church members and attendants make a great mistake when you do

not let your minister, priest or rabbi know you are a unionist.

Be proud of it! Put your union belief on the line and challenge your church to recognize its essential nature as a fine thing and a potential for good. And likewise, apply your faith to your work and union problems.

If you are a steward and a member wants you to process a grievance which is actually unjust, tell him it cannot be conscientiously done. And that's good unionism as well as good religion.

ONE more word about today's climate. Largely because of the investigations and the publicity labor has received, two things have resulted. More church leaders than ever before are aware of unions and their problems and would like to assist in helping the labor movement to take the great place in healthy American life that it deserves when democratically and righteously run.

On the other hand, the labor movement must realize that the bad press it has received, the tightening of management resistance, as pointed out by Arther Goldberg and others and evidenced on every hand, are things it ought to counteract by giving a close-up friendly and understanding view of its real leadership and nature to all the public, and most particularly to the highly influential molders of public opinion who occupy leadership in the churches.

The Religion and Labor Council of America is trying to do these things as no other group in the country, and to suggest ways in which labor leaders can help to improve religion-labor understanding.

Only recently we changed the name from Religion and Labor Foundation, since we have never been really a foundation and have no resources or endowment. But we continue to have national labor leaders from both former AFL and CIO unions on our board, including William Schnitzler, Al Whitehouse, George Harrison, Walter Reuther, Al Hayes, Jim Carey and others. Also among the forty-eight members are ministers, priests and rabbis.

The Religion and Labor Council of America is inclusive of all faiths, as the labor movement is; for all faiths have the same concern for social righteousness, rooted in both

the Old Testament prophets and in New Testament teaching.

The RLC is also inclusive, and has been from the beginning more than twenty-five years ago, of all God's children, whether Negro or white. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, was one of the original incorporators and is still on the board, along with Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Dr. Benjamin Mays and other such leaders.

In Little Rock some years ago the local Religion and Labor fellowship group was the first ever to hold integrated luncheon meetings in a downtown hotel. This, like that of the labor movement as a whole and like the churches in their official outlook, is absolutely essential policy—that a religion and labor council on the local scene must be open to all as brothers in labor and in the churches.

Originally, the organization began at Yale University Divinity School, and in its first ten or twelve years it was almost entirely concerned with theological seminaries. The idea then was to rally clergy support for the hard-pressed labor movement, and students often went out to march on picket lines.

Now labor can fight its own battles with management on more equal footing, and active participation as a partisan is no longer encouraged. But we still have a great work to do in educating young clergymen to their responsibilities to the working community and to the realities of organized labor as a responsible, democratic part of American life.

So we go to theological schools as often as possible, to speak in chapel and conduct seminars and talk with individual students. And from time to time we organize student groups to come as our guests and, with labor cooperation, to observe a labor convention in action, then discuss it in their own meetings with both church and labor leaders to interpret and aid them.

For example, students came from fifteen schools, from Illinois to Texas to Massachusetts, to spend two days at the 1957 AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City.

We have seen how such impressions have influenced them in their later years in the communities where they serve, making them forever after more understanding and kindly disposed to unions and (Continued on Page 30)



# HOW THEY DO IT IN EUROPE

By **HY KORNBLUH**

*AFL-CIO Department of Education*

*As a Fulbright scholar, Mr. Kornbluh visited a number of union-owned schools in Western Europe last summer.*

**I**T WAS a beautiful sunny day in the month of June.

It was most fitting that the road out of Oslo wound along the waterfront with its clean-looking Norwegian ships. For the driver was the education director of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, one of the largest unions in that country's "Landsorganisasjon"—the Norwegian Trade Union Federation. He was taking me to see his union's school.

After about a twenty-minute drive south of Oslo, the organization's national headquarters, he suddenly took a sharp turn to the right. The road went steeply up. The school was at the top of the hill, overlooking the Oslo fjord, one of the most beautiful pieces of natural scenery in Europe.

After introductions to the manager of the school and others, my guide asked the manager for "the key." He walked me along the hallway of the main house built of tremendous sturdy logs, partitioned off into comfortable bedrooms and classrooms. We pulled up short at a door and he opened it with "the key." He asked me to look.

I saw a stunning, oversized bathroom built completely out of beautiful black and white marble.

"This," he announced with a twinkle in his eye, "was Quisling's personal bathroom, sent to him as a gift, from a dictator to a collaborator—by Mussolini. We don't use it. We keep it as a symbol."

This incident goes to the heart of much of what has happened in the trade union movements in many countries of Western Europe since World War II. Trade unions have built or rebuilt themselves strong, determined to be a powerful force for human betterment, and against dictatorship. They have invested heavily in education of existing and potential leadership and rank and file



Somarka, a short drive from Oslo, is one of two educational centers owned by Norway's Trade Union Federation. Some national unions affiliated with the Federation have their own residential schools.

members, often owning their own trade union schools.

Boldly highlighting the changes which have come about is the fact that some of these schools were formerly the places that the dictators or their henchmen built or commandeered for their private luxury when they were riding the wave of power.

Over a Norwegian "snack," consisting of a tremendous open-faced sandwich as only the Scandinavians

know how to make and a bottle of beer, he told me the background of the school. Quisling had built this lodge as a summer retreat. When the Axis and its collaborators fell apart, the Norwegian government took over the property. The union bought it from the government. Now the union has built an additional unit to accommodate more people.

The school is part of a balanced education program in this union

**Workers' education is a big thing in Sweden. This is one of nine buildings that make up the LO's school at Runo. Staff people from the LO's headquarters in Stockholm often teach at the Runo school.**





which brings to the school ships' delegates or committeemen and what they call "study group leaders" for two weeks of training. In addition, the union supplies a correspondence course that leaders can take while on board ship, and union classes for members are often run right on the high seas by the study group leaders.

The day I visited the school there were no classes in progress. But the large number of people lounging around attested to the fact that the school served other purposes, too. That day a pensioners' club was using the grounds for a day's outing in the country.

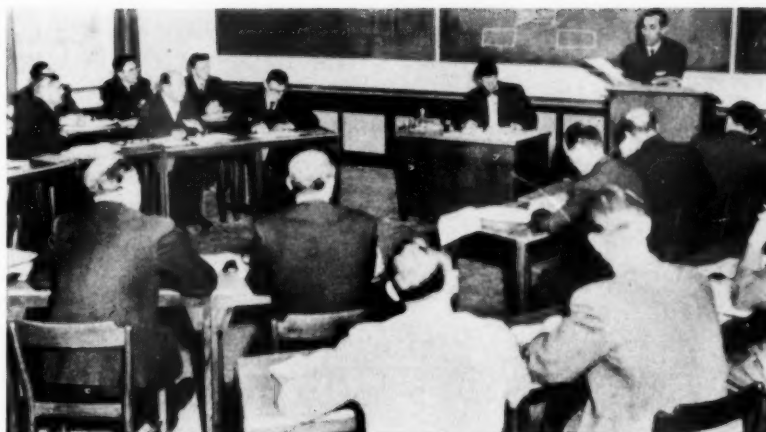
In this country of 3,500,000 people, with thousands of miles of coastline, one need not shop around too much to get a beautiful school site. The Chemical Workers own a recreation and education center on a little island about 100 miles southwest of Oslo. A regularly scheduled ferry services the island from the mainland.

The Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions owns two education facilities which are run in cooperation with the Norwegian Workers Education Association. Built in 1939, the residential educational center at Sörmarka, near Oslo, includes in its program a full eight-week general course for trade unionists, a four-week course for women trade unionists, a four-week course on politics and a four-week youth school and camp.

The other school, located in the center of the country, is conducted along the lines of the traditional folk high school, the peculiarly Scandinavian contribution to residential adult education, where young adults and adults from the broad labor movement can supplement their public education, which ends at an earlier age than in the United States.

**W**HEN I walked into an assembly of people at the Swedish LO (Trade Union Federation) school at Runö ("Island of Old Viking Stones"), about twenty miles outside of Stockholm, I remarked to my guide, a representative of the LO's Education Department, that they were to be complimented on the high degree of women's participation. Half of the group was of the fairer sex.

He smiled and told me that though they have increasing involvement of



A class in session at the Runo school of the LO, the Swedish Trade Union Federation. Center can house up to 250 in individual rooms.

women members (they conduct two two-week schools for women trade unionists), the course then in session was a course for trade union husbands and wives. Running for two weeks, the course included subjects of direct interest to unionists and their wives as workers, as parents and as citizens.

A look at the program showed such topics as youth problems, public school problems, economics, politics, family and society, family and the law, women at home and at work, home and furniture, a tour of a co-operative pottery factory, foreign affairs, etc.

This course was one of many conducted at this new school built in

1953 at a cost of close to \$2,000,000.

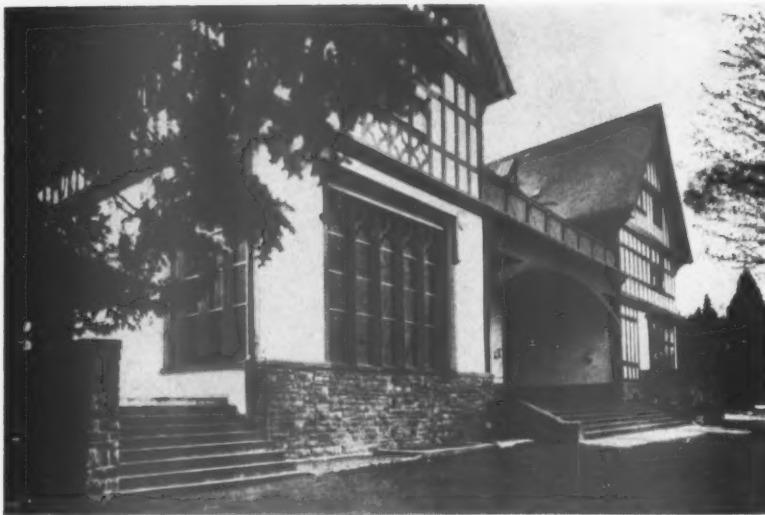
With modern Swedish furniture, painting and sculpture at almost every turn, the school's nine units include five residential buildings with individual rooms capable of housing up to 250 people. An older school at Brunnsvik, in the center of the country, can house up to eighty.

The basic course is a three-month program for local union leaders which is run twice a year. A shorter version of the same course conducted for a six-week term is available six times a year at the two schools.

Operating on a year-round basis, Runö is not only the center for leadership schools of affiliated national unions, but it schedules staff training

Lounge of one of the education centers of the Swedish White Collar Workers, near Stockholm. Group recently acquired a second center.





Education is an important part of the program of the DGB, the West German Trade Union Federation. This is one of its seven schools.

courses, conferences of union journalists, schools for city labor council education committeemen, etc. A 10,000-volume, ultra-modern library, reading lounges, fully equipped meeting hall-movie theater, a cafe and other recreation facilities round out the school's plant built on a 600-acre site.

Historically, white collar workers in Sweden have been organized, in the main, in a separate federation called the TCO. Although the TCO is much smaller than the LO, the two organizations enjoy very cordial relations.

The TCO has cause to boast of its educational facilities, with a converted estate on the outskirts of Stockholm serving as its educational center. Since its education program is beginning to strain the capacity of the center, a second estate was recently purchased and is being remodeled for school use.

Affiliated unions of white collar and professional workers send people to courses ranging from two days to a full month.

**T**HE Danish trade union movement, just as its neighboring Scandinavian counterparts, deeply believes in education. Two "Hojkskole" or folk high schools—one at Roskilde near Copenhagen and the other newly built at Esbjerg—carry on the traditional six-month residential folk school courses to supplement and broaden the education of young people over 18 who qualify for it.

During the spring and summer

months the staff of the schools and trade union leaders teach in one- and two-week programs especially designed for trade union groups.

Roskilde includes in its program a unique course for the entire family. Esbjerg contains the equipment to train union leaders to keep up with the changing technology and resulting collective bargaining problems which stem from the changes. It houses a well-outfitted shop and laboratory used in courses on time and motion and work study.

With the program carried on in close association with the Danish Workers Education Association, the acquisition of a third school was under serious consideration at the time that I visited Denmark.

**T**HE West German trade union movement had to start from scratch to rebuild its forces decimated by a dozen years of Hitler rule.

Militant trade union leaders had shared top position with the Jews on the list of those who were systematically exterminated or committed to long-term torture in concentration camps. The Hitler-controlled organizations which had substituted for genuine unions during the Nazi period bore no resemblance, of course, to honest, independent and democratic workers' unions.

The void of leadership and understanding of trade union organization and principles left when the Allied armies brought this period to a close had to be filled, and rapidly, too, to match the phenomenal pace of in-

dustrial regrowth taking place in the country.

Systematic education of actual and potential trade union leaders through permanent schools owned by the labor movement was one of the answers that the DGB (German Trade Union Federation) and its affiliates came up with. With a substantial amount of the DGB's income budgeted for education, seven schools, spaced throughout the country, are owned by the DGB itself. Another eighteen schools, with resident capacities varying from thirty-five to 200 people each, are the property of and operated by eleven of the sixteen national unions which make up the DGB.

Some 7,000 union leaders each year go through the seven DGB schools alone, taking courses varying from a weekend to three weeks. What do they study?

An example is the DGB's three-week basic course on trade unionism. It includes sessions on worker and society, structure and forms of company ownership, economics, etc. Specialized courses for apprentice representatives, staff people, union secretaries, seminars for those who teach trade unionists are also conducted with the appropriate groups.

In addition, intensive training on specialized subject matter such as social insurance law, labor legislation, etc., is also provided in separate institutes.

Because of the void in the natural development of leaders, in West German labor there is a very strong accent on youth. Three of the national union-owned centers and one of the DGB (German Trade Union Federation) education centers are youth schools, training leaders in the labor youth movement.

I represented the AFL-CIO at an International Confederation of Free Trade Unions education seminar in the spring of 1958. The DGB played host to the seminar for two weeks, comfortably housing the more than forty delegates, staff and guests from all over the world in their youth school in Oberursel near Frankfurt.

As the school's director unfolded the story of its background, it became apparent that the history of this estate was a mirror of the last thirty years of German history itself. It was originally owned by a Jewish industrialist who was forced to give it up during the Hitler period.

The estate was taken over by the Nazi Labor Front and later became a Wehrmacht hospital. With the Allied victory, it was at first a British occupation forces country club, later used by the U.S. Army and then purchased by the DGB for a small sum as part of a reparations settlement for damages inflicted on the labor movement by the Nazis.

Most of the schools have a full year-round program with time off when the entire staff goes on summer vacation. But some of the schools have combined education and recreation programs. An example is the new center of the Railwaymen's Union in Konigstein, about ten miles from Oberursel. As guests of that union, the ICFTU seminar delegates had the opportunity to inspect the completely modern living quarters, classrooms and other accommodations of this new facility which for nine months of the year houses up to 200 trade union "students" and during the summer doubles as a low-cost resort hotel for union members and their families.

Many rich Germans apparently think the union has picked a beautiful spot for its school, facing as it does opposite the historic Konigstein castle resting regally in the nearby Taunus Mountains. The town itself has become a highly desirable, upper-income suburb of Frankfurt since the union purchased the site some ten years ago at three and one-half West German marks per square meter. The land is now worth many times that amount.

The West German union movement is educating for the long term, too. Three "Labor Academies" to which qualified members receive scholarships of two years' duration are supported by the DGB. Many of the technical full-time union staff people are drawn from the ranks of the graduates.

**T**RADE unionists in Britain had for some time talked about a training college owned by the Trades Union Congress. It all bore fruit with the opening of the TUC Training College, an integral part of Congress House, the new TUC headquarters in London dedicated last year.

In a fitting way, the college was planned as a memorial to the British workers who lost their lives in the



At training college of the British Trades Union Congress, officers of local unions carry on a discussion as part of a two-week course.

two World Wars. Among the facilities is a students' common room, or lounge, which was furnished through a generous grant made by the AFL for that purpose.

Housing the union students through a standing arrangement with a nearby hotel, the training college draws many of its teachers from the TUC headquarters departments and is able to supplement the lectures, discussions and study in many of the courses with appropriate field visits in the London area.

Courses include two-week sessions for local union officers and similar-length courses for full-time staff people. In addition, week-long courses are run on collective bargaining, industrial relations, production and management (job evaluation, time and motion study, etc.), social security and industrial welfare and other subjects. Arrangements are also made with national unions for courses for their own members.

Particularly in the longer courses, the students are given assignments which involve using the college's library and writing their own analyses of particular problems facing the union movement.

The British unions also support the well-known Ruskin College at Oxford and make a number of scholarships available to qualified unionist for one and sometimes two years

for academic study at the college. Some scholarships are also made available for attendance at three adult residential colleges.

The typical British unionist's reaction to his stint at a TUC college course is similar to the reaction of unionists attending schools in the United States:

"I want more of it. I hope my union sends me back again."

**T**HIS doesn't cover all of the countries in Western Europe, and only part of the education programs involving union members in these countries has been described here. Many programs are conducted using other facilities.

And each of these trade union movements has close working relationships with and often is the major support of workers' education associations or other educational agencies and of movements such as a labor party or cooperative movement.

But increasing use is being made of the union-owned residential schools where developing trade union leaders can get away from the day-to-day demands of the job and union responsibilities to study together, broaden their view and test and freshen up ideas in order to go back and build stronger, more imaginative and more democratic trade unions in a rapidly changing world.

*It's Our  
American  
Privilege to*

**REGISTER  
AND VOTE**



# The Photo Engravers

By WILFRID T. CONNELL

President, International Photo Engravers Union

**W**HAT is a photo engraver? A photo engraver is a man who makes the "cuts" from which the illustrations in newspapers and magazines are printed. The eye-catching packages in the stores are also made possible by photo engravers.

Of all the photo engravers in the United States and Canada, 95 per cent now belong to the International Photo Engravers Union.

Our organization is made up of highly skilled men. They encompass many diverse trades in their work operations, ranging from manual dexterity through artistic perception to the operation of delicate and intricate mechanical, photo-mechanical and electronic equipment.

Although photo engraving is concentrated in the larger cities, our union services all parts of the United States and Canada through its 100 local unions. The locals have the maximum of local autonomy consistent with proper and adequate regulation by the parent body.

As early as 1886, efforts were made to form a Photo Engravers Union, and from time to time groups existed. However, it was not until 1894, when the International Typographical Union issued a charter to a New York union, that continuity began.

In 1899 there were nineteen local unions affiliated with the Typographical Union. The members of these locals were mainly employed on newspapers, and dual organizations were created among commercial engravers. The latter formed the International Photo Engravers Union in 1900.

There were dual organizations for several years. This situation was ended by the formal release of the photo engravers by the Typographical Union and the admission of the International Photo Engravers Union into the American Federation of Labor as a full-fledged affiliate in 1904.

At that time our organization had a membership of less than 2,000. Since then it has grown to almost 19,000. Local unions have increased



WILFRID T. CONNELL

from a handful to 100, while the resources of the IPEU have multiplied far beyond the imagination of the union's founders.

The shape and character of the IPEU were molded in the early years by Matthew Woll, the late vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He became our third president in 1906. He resigned in 1928 after the establishment of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, but he continued as the first-vice president of the Photo Engravers until his death.

It was under the astute guidance of Matthew Woll and of Edward J. Volz, who succeeded him and filled the office of president until 1954, that our organization grew and prospered. What is just as important, Matt Woll and Ed Volz built up a reputation for integrity and performance that has made the Photo Engravers a symbol of the best in the labor movement.

During the six decades of its independent existence, the Photo En-

gravers Union has pioneered in all the major improvements in working conditions, such as shorter hours, five-day week, pay for holidays and vacations, and the other benefits providing health and welfare and security for the members and protection for their families.

In the depression of the Thirties we provided millions of dollars in unemployment benefits and other relief to our less fortunate brothers. We believe the IPEU made a record, per capita, that was not approached by any other labor organization.

**T**HE Photo Engravers Union has won high wage rates and annual earnings. This has been done at the bargaining table and with a minimum of friction with our employers. Fifty per cent of our employers are members of the union and proud to continue affiliation years after they have become owners of plants.

The AFL-CIO codes of ethical practices have been meticulously followed by the IPEU, and the few departures from the strict path by any local union or local officer have been summarily dealt with by union action and the offenders removed from office without delay.

All financial officers, both local and international, are bonded by the international union, and in many cases local unions require additional bonding to cover the handling of the large funds collected and maintained for local welfare benefits. All international and local welfare funds are set up according to law and are separately audited and reported at least quarterly.

The international union publishes a monthly financial statement which is distributed to all local unions and available to the public. The report details every financial transaction, itemizing the amount and source of all receipts and the amount, purpose and payee of each disbursement. The financial statement gives a recapitulation of the monthly activity and





The Photo Engravers follow the best democratic traditions. Seen here are delegates at annual convention.

balance of all funds. Locals also follow this procedure.

In addition, the status of each local is tabulated with respect to current financial standing and membership and changes which have taken place during the month.

In this way the members, if they care to avail themselves of the opportunity, may keep informed about any phase of union activity.

**E**ACH year the International Photo Engravers Union publishes and distributes to all members a 200-page volume of officers' reports. It is also available to the public. The officers' reports present the most comprehensive and detailed tabulations of IPEU statistics and information that it is possible to compile.

Over the years the accuracy of this information has been accepted without question by employer groups, trade organizations, government agencies and others interested in the anatomy of a labor union.

The International Photo Engravers Union is governed by a constitution embodying the organizational structure, procedure, basic principles of obligations and rights and by the union's general laws, which are more specific and functional.

An executive council of president, five vice-presidents and a secretary-treasurer is responsible for the administration of the laws and execu-

tion of policy as determined by convention action or its own rulings.

Local unions are completely autonomous within the framework of the international law and policy and accountable to the international only on failure to meet these requirements.

The Photo Engravers hold a convention annually. Officers are elected annually at these conventions by secret ballot of the delegates. There are no restrictions on nominations, except as to when they must be made, but it is significant that no contest has been experienced or found desirable for fifty years. This speaks well of the caliber of the men chosen, the character of their performance and the discernment of the delegates.

Local unions also elect annually by individual and secret referendum ballot.

All amendments to the international constitution or general laws dealing with the raising of dues or assessments, the alteration of any fund or the increase of officers' salaries must be passed by secret referendum vote of the individual members, and these requirements also apply to local legislation.

Perhaps because of the high percentage of organi-

zation, our recognized skill and the good labor-management relations generally built up over the years, we have not experienced much trouble with the Taft-Hartley Act.

However, the more specific interpretations and requirements of the National Labor Relations Board in the last year or so have disturbed some of our employers to the extent that they question language in our agreements which has been consid-

A Boston apprentice (left) gets award from Massachusetts Governor Furcolo.



ered legal under the act and hiring practices which are not only legal but also realistic.

"Right to work" laws have proved a handicap to organization in some Southern states, but the IPEU is confident that, as the growing disparity of standards becomes more apparent, workers in the benighted states will eventually demand the economic benefits of effective unionism.

The most serious problem facing the International Photo Engravers Union is brought about by the development and utilization of mechanized processes in what was historically a craft of manual skill.

From being a tight little craft depending upon the mystery and know-how of the trade to protect us from infringement by others not rightfully in the industry, we now find that the mechanization of many processes through chemistry, photo-mechanics and electronics has opened the door to others in the printing trades and groups very remote from the graphic arts to establish departments where a product can be manufactured acceptable to those who do not know or require genuine quality in a printing plate.

Although the prospect of the existence of this competition is disturbing to the IPEU, we have no great fear that it will seriously affect the strength of our organization or the future livelihood of our people.

We are convinced that, no matter what the method used or the equipment or materials utilized, the members of the International Photo Engravers Union can still produce the highest quality at an economic and

competitive price, and that an organization which has never yet failed to provide the necessary finances and leadership to meet any challenge will continue in the forefront of an enlightened labor movement.



Many members' wives are active in the auxiliary. This is a convention session.



The union has regional groups. Photo shows meeting of Pacific Coast conference.

*Take Care of Your Union*

*and it will take care of you*

**ATTEND YOUR MEETINGS REGULARLY**

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EDMUND P. TOBIN

# Union Members Are Loyal

By EDMUND P. TOBIN

President, Union Labor Life Insurance Company

**W**HEN a writer becomes an "expert" in one particular field, like labor, he is sometimes apt to mistake his own assumptions for facts. It's almost an occupational disease.

And never was it more apparent than in recently published statements to the effect that unions have "lost the loyalty" of their members.

This just isn't true in the great majority of unions, which are run honestly and democratically. When I say that, I am not expressing my own assumption, but virtually quoting from Senator John L. McClellan, who on June 23 told the convention of the AFL-CIO Retail Clerks International Association in Los Angeles:

"The great majority of union officers are honorable, decent, dedicated men."

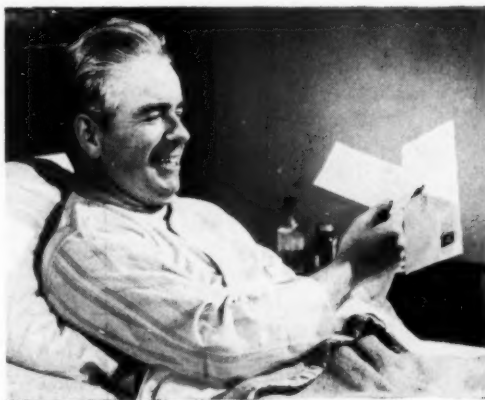
If that is so obvious to the Arkansas Senator after his sweeping investigation of labor-management corruption in the past two years, surely it ought to be even more apparent to the workers themselves, who are much closer to their unions than the Senator. Why, then, should their confidence in their unions be shaken when they know that their leadership is good?

It is not my purpose to answer one argument with another, however logical. There are hard facts to prove the unwavering loyalty of the nation's workers to their unions.

Actually, the workers have answered the charge themselves. In election after election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board,

union members have voted overwhelmingly in support of their organizations.

Again the workers spoke for themselves in the 1958 political elections, especially in the states where the so-called "right to work" proposals were an issue. In five out of six of those states, working people and their friends trooped to the polls in record-breaking numbers and defeated this threat to the security of unions.



Checks to pay medical bills are provided under modern union-negotiated contracts.

All this is a matter of record, easily verifiable. But there is a new element in this picture of worker allegiance to unions that has not been explored yet by any of the experts. I think it is perhaps the most significant development of this generation in trade union progress.

Today the vast majority of organized American workers don't have to ask their union business agent: "What have you done for me lately?" They *know*. They get constant reminders in their health and welfare

checks, in pension payments and in other insurance benefits.

In the course of my work I have talked to many workers and to their wives. There was a time, not so long ago, when it was feared that the wives of union members harbored anti-union resentments. If that were ever true, it is no longer so today.

The women appreciate, more than anyone else in the family, the relief from having to meet medical bills. And they fully realize that it comes from the health and welfare provisions of union-negotiated contracts.

**I**t is more than a matter of relief from paying bills. One worker told me he had been worried about his health but neglected to visit his doctor until he was covered by health insurance. Then he discovered that he had developed diabetic tendencies which were quickly cured by diet.

"I've got a lot to be thankful for," he said. "This health and welfare actually saved my health."

His experience has been repeated endlessly as workers are freed from the fear of the high cost of medical care and seek it in time to prevent serious illnesses.

There are many woman workers, holding jobs to supplement the family income, who previously did not dare to have children because of the loss in wages and the doctors' and hospital bills. Today they are having children and are leading much happier lives, because pregnancy insurance coverage makes it possible for

them to do so painlessly—in an economic sense.

Thousands of older workers, unable to quit their jobs because of the inadequacy of social security payments, today are enjoying retirement because the union-negotiated pension plan adds enough income to permit them to live in comfort and decency.

These are some of the blessings which workers know they owe to their unions. They are not likely to turn against organizations which provide them with such a constant flow of benefits.

If I may be permitted to put in a

plug, the reminders are even more convincing when the insurance programs are underwritten by the Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

Benefit checks coming from labor's own company, rather than from a private insurance company, help to call the attention of the insured worker to the fact that his union is responsible for providing him with his insurance protections.

Consider for a moment how tremendously the various forms of insurance coverage for workers have grown. Today many thousands of local and national unions have won

health and welfare insurance for more than ten million workers. Life insurance in force under such plans comes to a staggering total of over \$144 billion. Millions of workers are also covered by retirement and pension plans.

Is it any wonder that the organized workers of America are more closely tied to their unions today than ever before?

Is it at all surprising that their allegiance to their unions is stronger than ever before?

Can there be any doubt left that the "experts" are wrong?

## Your Union Can Get Publicity

By BILL ABBOTT

Assistant Education Director,  
United Rubber Workers

**I** DROPPED into the office of a newspaper in the Middle West to try to boost attendance for a school I was holding with a local union. I thought a story in that newspaper might help.

The reporter's jaw dropped visibly when I told him who I was.

"Labor did you say?" Then he cried out: "Hold everything! Wait!"

He darted off, but in a minute he was back, breathing heavily.

"The publisher wants to see you," he said.

I was escorted into a paneled office where a stocky man greeted me. He grimly examined me up and down. Then he broke into a broad smile and said:

"You know, you're the first labor man who has ever been in here—in all these years—and you have to come all the way from Ohio. Tell me something. Do we have B.O.?"

Without letting me answer the question, he mused on.

"Our reporters call up the union when there's a strike on, and the union says: 'No comment.' So we print management's side of the story and the union gets mad. Had the union said something, we would have printed that, too.

"Sure, we attack them for their political activities along with other things.

"Now this school of yours sounds good. Let's say we do it up brown, a big feature."

If this were an isolated instance, it wouldn't be worth mentioning. But similar experiences have happened to me often enough to cause me concern.

We know that the average newspaper is conservative and often slanted toward big business. Groaning about this doesn't help a thing, but sometimes a little contact with the paper might help a lot.

Even many of the most conservative papers will print your side of the story if you only give them the facts.

In doing labor education publicity for an international union, I can say we have placed stories about union schools in more than 85 per cent of all papers contacted.

It isn't that we are so good at our work. It's simply a case of doing something newsworthy, of home town interest, and giving the story to the paper. It's that simple.

I once talked to a Wisconsin editor about his paper's not-too-favorable-to-labor slant.

"What do you expect?" he responded. "We're a business and have labor problems ourselves. But it's more than that.

"Frankly, we don't know as much as we should about unions. We don't go to the same club with union people or see them in our business. We just don't think about unions most of the time. But something constructive like a school or some other community activity we'll print—if you tell us."

Getting back to the newspaper publisher, I could have told him it was the duty of his understaffed paper to put a reporter on the labor beat and dig out the facts. But I said no such thing. I remembered what had happened the year before in a neighboring state.

The paper sent a reporter to cover a United Rubber Workers school. It was no compliment to my teaching prowess that he wrote his story after spending only ten minutes in class and called the school—a labor school—"the United Rubber Company management conference."

This harried reporter had to leave to cover a ball game, and he didn't know a labor union from the Daughters of the American Revolution. Was this the reporter's fault? Yes, it was—but it was also our fault for not cultivating him and explaining what we were about.

We must remember the average newspaper is usually understaffed, and this means reporters aren't likely to go out hunting for news. So we must go to them.

If no one in your local union can write press releases, this isn't the greatest tragedy in the world, for most union people can talk and they can take time out to visit newspaper offices.

Some time spent with newsmen explaining the union program can and has meant the difference between good and bad press relations.

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# Sukarno and 'Guided Democracy'

By HARRY GOLDBERG

*AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs*

**T**HE appearance of partial or complete military dictatorships these last few years in country after country of Asia—Burma, Thailand, Pakistan, Indonesia—worries Asian leaders and people no end.

Increasingly they are asking:

"Is the parliamentary democracy characteristic of the West applicable to Asia?"

"Is there a specific Asian form of democracy, varying even from country to country?"

"Is *democracy as such* at all applicable?"

The concern apparent in these questions in the ranks of those Asians who consider themselves exponents, even champions, of democracy is only deepened when they see the organizational and industrial advances made in Communist China under a dictatorial regime. They well know the danger inherent in this, the attraction it exercises for people in a hurry—and the Asians understandably are in a hurry.

It is in the light of these developments that I wish to discuss the question of Indonesia's "guided democracy."

There is no doubt that Sukarno's "guided democracy" lies at the heart of all the trouble that has been plaguing Indonesia these last few years.

His opponents regard it as a basic violation of the Indonesian constitution and the central instrumentality of an anti-democratic authoritarianism. Sukarno and his supporters, on the other hand, proclaim "guided democracy" as the necessary prerequisite for bailing Indonesia out of all its difficulties. With such diametrically opposed evaluations of Sukarno's new conception, it deserves careful, objective analysis.

Sukarno first came up with the theory soon after his 1956 trips to Soviet Russia and Red China. It was under the influence of his positive evaluation of the "efficiency" of the Communist regimes that he proclaimed the new tack upon his return to Indonesia. His feeling at the time was dramatically symbolized by his famous dictum: "Bury the political parties."

Now it cannot be gainsaid that the role the political parties have played in Indonesian developments after independence has been to the highest degree unproductive, obstructive, disruptive.

With a multiplicity of parties on the scene (some twenty-six or twenty-seven or so), the inner and intra-party bickerings and the scramble among the politicians for power and pelf were frenetic.

**T**HIS scramble for position generated its modicum of corruption, and the progressive softening of the social ideals that underlay the struggle for independence should surprise nobody. The parties have subordinated the interests of the country to the narrow interest of their organizations and their leaders.

If most of the parties—twenty-odd or so—were to disappear from the political scene, it would be a contribution to the political stability of the country. Sukarno opportunistically merely used the legitimate criticism of the political parties as his jumping-off point in his active espousal of "guided democracy," which, however, had deeper and more questionable purposes in view.

The concept has had a history. Its original emphasis was rather different from the final plan which emerged. Originally, the most starting point included in Sukarno's con-

ception—to a country which had not forgotten the bitter memory of their attempted putsch at Madiun in 1948—was his insistence that Communists be included in both the new cabinet and the National Advisory Council, the two institutional innovations he proposed.

"A horse can't stand on three legs," he explained at the time. The fourth "leg" implied, of course, was the Communist party of Indonesia, the PKI, in addition to the other "Big Three" parties, the Nationalist party (PNI) and the two large Moslem parties, the Masjumi and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The uproar caused by this in the ranks of the other parties caused a partial retreat on Sukarno's part, and he dropped his idea of including outright Communists in the cabinet (though there were some well-known fellow travelers there), limiting himself to their inclusion in the National Advisory Council.

It was with this NAC that his idea of including "functional groups" also first came to the fore—representatives of the workers, farmers, intellectuals, women, etc. It is not to be wondered at that through these means Communists, who are always more active than any other element in groups of these types, got some of their representatives in.

Two things above all are necessary to emphasize in the character of these two new bodies. First, its members were all appointed, hand-picked by Sukarno, thus beginning the process of personal decision and control which is inseparable from any authoritarian approach. Secondly, to all practical intents and purposes, the power of suggesting, initiating and practically deciding on matters was now lodged in the hands of these two newly appointed "committees,"

with Parliament pretty effectively by-passed.

It was not very long before some of the leaders at the center began to be nagged by worry at the greatly increased strength of the Communists as registered in the local elections of 1957, where they emerged as the strongest single party on the most populous island, Java.

A rift, further, had developed in the relationship between the PKI and the PNI, which had reached an unprecedented height of amiability during the honeymoon days of the Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet in 1955 and 1956, and which undoubtedly helped to stimulate Communist growth.

This increasing dissatisfaction was reflected in a reshuffle of Sukarno's personal cabinet, which decreased somewhat the power of, but did not dismiss, the pro-Communist elements there. This was obviously an attempt to ground the developing dissatisfaction with the Communists.

The second national election, originally scheduled for 1959, was also postponed. The Communists, with their greatly increased strength, would undoubtedly have won the election had it been held.

**I**N THE meantime, all the accumulated economic and political dissatisfactions—of which "guided democracy" was not the least important—led finally to the split and the formation of the rebel PRRI government at Padang, Sumatra, in February, 1958. This in turn led to the civil war and the strengthening of the semi-military dictatorship, with the army, under Nasution, granted emergency powers which it still holds.

And so it went until the present. Sukarno meanwhile was preparing the ground, in consultation with the cabinet and the National Advisory Council, for the presentation of his latest, final and definitive institutionalization of "guided democracy." He announced its content in a speech in Jogjakarta on February 20. Its essence was contained in this sentence of his speech:

"We must return to the constitution of 1945 and simultaneously enforce the laws on simplification of the political party system and amend the 1953 general election laws for the participation of the 'functional groups' in the House of Representatives."

He indicated that the cabinet would draft two bills on the simplification of the party system and for the amendment of the 1953 election laws and present them for approval to Parliament, and he hoped that after his return from his pending foreign tour the newly proposed constitution would be signed by August 17, 1959, which is Indonesian Independence Day, so that—

"On the day of the fourteenth anniversary of the independence proclamation, the President may be able to say:

"The Republic of Indonesia has been restored to the unity of the 1945 independence proclamation."

These general descriptions require some concrete explanation before their meaning becomes totally clear.

First, the return to the constitution of 1945, which was a provisional one attendant upon the legal, *de facto* international recognition of Indonesian sovereignty—which did not come until four years later—was desired by Sukarno because of the substantial executive powers granted under it to the President.

Sukarno had chafed under his constitutional limitations long before the present troubles in Indonesia began. In personal conversations with this writer as long ago as 1952, he had complained of his being a "French figurehead" type of President, as he put it, instead of an American kind with substantial executive powers.

Secondly, insofar as the representation of the "functional groups" is concerned, the proposal was that 50 per cent of all the members of the House of Representatives be elected (when the next election rolls around, whenever that may be) and 50 per cent be appointed from the so-called "functional groups." Thirty-five of the 50 per cent quota of the "functional groups" would be composed of representatives of the armed forces, to be distributed as follows: 15 for the army, 7 for the navy, 7 for the air force, 3 to the police and 3 for various other groups (veterans, village guards, etc.).

Certain details were not as yet clear and were to be concretely worked out in the future. The constitution of 1945 will not be exactly copied. For instance, that constitution provided for a sort of Senate upper house (Peoples' Consultative Assembly) in addition to the House

of Representatives. It was indicated that the existing unicameral arrangement would be maintained. However, that same constitution's provision for a Supreme Consultative Council was to be kept.

In fact, it is quite similar functionally to the previous National Advisory Council of Sukarno's. It was expected that the NAC under its deputy director, Roeslan Abdulgani—Sukarno, of course, was the director—might become the new SCC. The President would also appoint his personal cabinet.

So actually what the whole thing amounted to was that under the protective umbrella of the slogan, "return to the 1945 constitution," Sukarno was attempting to legalize the two radical innovations of the old "guided democracy," i.e., the personal cabinet and the NAC, which so enhanced his political power.

**T**HE intention of the constitution of 1945 to limit the President's powers is quite clear. That clear intention, however, is completely side-tracked by Sukarno's new plan. With 50 per cent of its members to be appointed—and in the last analysis Sukarno will have the deciding voice in their choice—Parliament will obviously be in a much weakened position, practically docile, *vis-à-vis* Sukarno. With the Consultative Assembly—specifically stated to be the "supreme state power" in the 1945 constitution—out of the way, with Sukarno appointing the Cabinet, the Supreme Consultative Council and 50 per cent of the membership of Parliament, his power will be enormous.

It was Sukarno's desire to overcome the political muddle created by the plethora of parties by reducing their influence. But from the viewpoint of the future welfare of Indonesia the "cure" he proposes is worse than the disease. For—leaving aside for the moment the rather uneasy dual-power relationship of Sukarno and Nasution, a serious problem in itself which will have to be resolved in future—this new proposed "guided democracy" setup represents an enormous step forward on the road toward authoritarian control.

In my frequent arguments with my Indonesian friends here about this, they insist that I'm looking at the entire (Continued on Page 29)

# Conservation and Jobs

By CHARLES H. CALLISON

CONSERVATION is an issue of increasing concern in the public affairs of America. There is a growing realization among Americans that the national economy and security, their jobs and even their health depend on the wise use of our country's lands and waters and minerals.

What is labor's stake in conservation? In our opinion, labor's interest in conservation is indistinguishable from the public interest.

Conservation means a steady and ample flow of raw materials to feed the mills and factories that make the jobs, in contrast to shutdowns and layoffs. It is the difference between the stable communities where sustained-yield management of public or private forests provides a steady, year-in and year-out crop of sawlogs and pulpwood and the ghost towns of Michigan and Wisconsin and other states, where only a few decades ago rapacious lumber barons followed the ruinous "cut out and get out" philosophy.

Conservation is the difference between health-giving foods produced on good soil and mineral-deficient foods produced on poor lands whose fertility has eroded away. It is the difference between ample supplies of clean water for homes, industry, irrigation and recreation as against water shortages, floods and the stench of pollution.

Conservation means opportunities for hunting, fishing, camping and family outings on the public lands and beaches of America. It does not mean special concessions and giveaways of these same public lands to private concerns interested only in quick profits at public expense.

Let's get down to cases. What are some of today's conservation issues?

One of the most crucial is water pollution control. Congress in 1956 passed a new and stronger anti-pollution law—but only over the bitter opposition of certain industries with a vested interest in stream pollution. The new law, known as the Blatnik Act, gave the Public Health Service

new powers to enforce abatement of pollution in interstate waters. It also authorized federal grants to cities to help finance the construction of sewage treatment plants.

Polluted waters are coming clean. Yet the law has been under propaganda attack by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and by some industrial trade associations.

The public lands, mostly in the Western states, are another center of conservation controversy. Lumbering, mining and livestock interests are constantly trying to weaken federal safeguards and controls.



No job opportunities in such places.

The national wildlife refuges, national parks and monuments, and the reserved wilderness areas in the national forests are constantly endangered by pressure for encroachments and commercial invasions of various kinds.

These are the dedicated areas set aside by acts of Congress or by executive order to preserve the great scenic, wildlife and wilderness treasures of the nation for the inspiration and enjoyment of all Americans. Yet there are always some who want to log the forests in the national parks, sink oil wells in the wildlife refuges or turn them into military bombing ranges.

Remember the famous "stop order" of the late Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay? It was supposed to call a halt to mineral leasing in the national wildlife refuges. It served only to stop the publicity for a while.

After an interval, leases were handed out right and left to favored appli-

cants. A House committee investigated the leasing mess, and about that time Douglas McKay was succeeded by Fred Seaton.

The population of the United States is growing rapidly. What living standards can we anticipate when the country has a population of 250,000,000?

Once our natural resources are gone or have been so maltreated that they no longer meet our needs, we will have reached the point of no return and the world may well have become a place where humans can no longer live.

Every citizen must try to learn all that he can about natural resources and conservation measures, support legislation for their protection and see that it is enforced, and determine that the conservation leadership be of the highest, otherwise important conservation programs are likely to be crippled.

Unnecessary expenditure of tax money is bad and should be eliminated. But there is another kind of waste more deadly to the welfare and security of America. It is the waste of natural resources.

Water, for example, is industry's No. 1 raw material. It is also the No. 1 raw material for everybody everywhere, for all life depends on water. In primitive societies only small amounts of water were actually needed to sustain daily life. Pastoral and other simple societies required additional amounts for food preparation, for bathing and washing clothes. One can judge that three to five gallons a day for each person sufficed in those early communities.

Today one person needs sixty or more gallons of water daily for drinking, bathing, washing clothes, watering the lawn, washing the car and the other household uses for water in an average home.

Then we have the tremendous needs of our factories for water use. The manufacturing that provides the paychecks, directly or indirectly, for many millions of Americans uses up vast quantities of water. Not many people realize that it takes 53,000 to



80,000 gallons of water per ton of paper and pulp and 40,000 to 510,000 gallons of water per thousand yards of woolen cloth. And huge quantities of water are also needed by many other industries.

Water is the key element of many kinds of recreation and is indispensable to wildlife, which is itself valuable to recreation—the recreation that is so necessary to all of us if we are to maintain our physical and mental health.

Yet we have treated this indispensable resource badly. The opponents of pollution control have been hammering away from inside the Administration. Pollution and siltation problems have caused industries to abandon their locations in some towns when the water resource no longer met their needs and where the threat of flood damage hung over their heads.

The hand of organized labor is sorely needed in the fight for conservation.

## Labor Backs Anti-Pollution Bills

**THE AFL-CIO WARNED** last month that the increasing concentration of the nation's population in certain areas soon will make "every drop of water" a precious resource. For this reason Congress was urged to step up the federal anti-pollution program.

John T. Curran, AFL-CIO legislative representative, told a Senate Public Works Subcommittee that labor is in strong support of the Humphrey bill and the House-passed Blatnik bill. The Humphrey-Blatnik measures would double the present \$50,000,000 a year in federal grants which help to build new sewage facilities and replace obsolete plants.

Mr. Curran pointed to the areas of population concentration stretching from Boston to Washington, from San Francisco to Los Angeles and spreading Midwestern cities. By 1975, he said, probably three-fourths of the nation's estimated 230,000,000 inhabitants will be found in such "super-urban" areas. The demand for water in these areas will put a tremendous burden on relatively few major river systems.

# TWUA to Appeal Henderson Convictions

**E**IGHT officers and members of the Textile Workers Union of America have been given long prison sentences for an alleged conspiracy to dynamite buildings of the Harriet-Henderson Cotton Mills, where the TWUA has been on strike for eight months. Conviction of the eight TWUA members, on each of three separate conspiracy counts, climaxed a ten-day trial in strife-torn Henderson, North Carolina, where National Guardsmen still patrol the city streets.

The 400 members of the militia have been on duty in Henderson for more than two months, under orders from Governor Luther H. Hodges, protecting strikebreakers entering and leaving the mills.

The defense, headed by Hugo Black, Jr., son of the Supreme Court justice, had sought unsuccessfully to have the trial shifted to another locality, arguing that the tension in Henderson made a fair trial impossible.

The Superior Court jury deliberated only two and a half hours before returning guilty verdicts against

TWUA Vice-President and Regional Director Boyd E. Payton, International Representatives Lawrence Gore and Charles Auslander, Vice-President Johnnie Martin of Local 578 and Calvin Ray Pegram, Warren Walker, Malcolm Jarrell and Robert Edward Abbott, all members of the local.

They were freed on bail ranging from \$10,000 to \$25,000 after the defense filed notice it would appeal the convictions to the North Carolina Supreme Court.

Judge Raymond B. Mallard moved immediately to sentence the unionists. The stiffest penalties—six to ten years in prison—were handed to Payton and his two aides, Gore and Auslander. Walker, Pegram, Abbott and Martin were sentenced to five to seven years, and Jarrell drew a term of two to three years.

TWUA President William Pollock said the convictions were "against the weight of the evidence." He was critical of the fact that the state's case hinged on the testimony of Harold E. Aaron. He described Aaron as "a man convicted of assault with a

deadly weapon, stealing a police car and impersonating an officer of the law, and whose record shows several arrests for drunkenness."

Mr. Pollock said the evidence revealed that Aaron "has a longstanding grudge against the union."

Aaron, the prosecution's star witness, claimed the defendants had asked him to help in the alleged dynamiting conspiracy.

Two leading North Carolina newspapers—the *Raleigh News and Observer* and the *Charlotte Observer*—editorially criticized the state's role in the case. The *Charlotte* paper pointed out that Aaron is an ex-convict "who posed as a conspirator to collect evidence for the state." The *Raleigh* daily said the trial "put a stain on the reputation" of the State Bureau of Investigation.

The Harriet-Henderson strike began last November when union offers to renew the old contract without change were countered by management insistence on eliminating a fourteen-year-old arbitration clause and the insertion of a stringent no-strike provision.



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# Alabama Is Optimistic

By **BARNEY WEEKS**

*President, Alabama Labor Council*

**T**HE Alabama Labor Council is one of the largest state labor bodies in the South. Labor's growth in Alabama has been a recent occurrence. The industrial development of the South during and since the Second World War changed the state from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy.

The industrial expansion in Alabama meant labor had much organizing to do if it was to keep pace. However, labor's growth was appreciably slowed, first by the Taft-Hartley Act and then further hampered by the passage in 1953 of a state "open shop" law.

Alabama's industrial expansion was not affecting many of the smaller communities. New industries were being established in the urban centers and passing the smaller places by.

In an effort to attract industry—any kind of industry—rural counties started offering inducements. These inducements took many forms. Enterprises were exempted from all taxes, sometimes for as long as ten years, to locate in a particular community. Other communities erected buildings or plants which were leased at low cost to new businesses. Some industry was brought in only after local merchants and business people subscribed heavily to purchase of stock in the company.

These plans were successful to a certain extent. They did bring in some industry. In many cases, however, the new enterprises were not the most desirable type and the jobs they provided were of the marginal kind. Workers in many of these plants are overworked, underpaid and exploited in a most outrageous manner.

This new marginal industry must be organized. Otherwise these substandard jobs will become standards for the future. Alabama labor knows that before it can be thoroughly successful in organizing many of these plants, a better climate for organizing must be created. The passage of new anti-labor ordinances must be halted



**BARNEY WEEKS**

and some of those already on the books must be repealed.

Following the merger convention in 1956, the Alabama Labor Council opened an office in Montgomery, the capital city of our state, under the direction of First Vice-President E. C. Pippin. He was made a full-time legislative director.

**D**URING the first session of the Legislature after the opening of this office, for the first time in more than fifteen years, not one piece of anti-labor legislation was passed. At the same time labor secured passage of beneficial bills on workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation, and other legislation sought by labor also won approval.

Our members recognized that if they ever expected to repeal Alabama's "right to work" law, they would have to become more active politically.

In line with that thinking, the merger convention created the new position of second vice-president and COPE director. Wylie E. Chaffin holds this position. For approximately two years the COPE director has been assisted by a women's activities director.

During the last election, through a program of voluntary contributions from local unions, a state political campaign fund was raised. This money was used effectively in state races in which labor was interested.

However, labor was not as successful in the election as it had a right to expect. The trouble was not that working people failed to vote for endorsed candidates. In too many cases they just couldn't vote.

The problem of registration was greater than anyone had led us to believe. After two years of effort to get our members registered, it was clear that we had only scratched the surface. We are now pushing our registration program harder than ever to be ready for 1960.

Secretary-Treasurer Leroy Lindsey is also the Alabama Labor Council's director of research and education, and under his direction, during the past year, a series of leadership institutes was held throughout the state. Several specialized institutes were also conducted. Other sessions are planned.

The Alabama Labor Council is proud that a member of its executive board was recently selected for a Fulbright scholarship.

Charles Estes, who is also secretary of the Montgomery Labor Council, will spend a year studying workers' education at Nottingham University in England. First Vice-President Pippin was honored previously by a scholarship for a year's study in England.

The Alabama Labor Council publishes a weekly newsletter which goes to all local unions and international representatives in the state. Whenever necessary, special bulletins on pending legislation are issued. To make the legislative bulletins more effective, the mailing list is being expanded constantly.

The weekly newsletter has brought the State Council and the local unions into much closer contact. The frequent special bulletins have aided

also in the coordination of activities throughout the state.

Partially because of this closer communication, the first successful statewide boycott in Alabama was recently brought to a conclusion. As a result of that boycott a new respect for labor in the state was created, a plant was organized and workers' pay was raised as much as 79½ cents per hour.

Council officers are constantly appearing before civic clubs, school groups and anywhere else they have an opportunity to tell labor's story.

The labor movement is represented on many state boards and committees. We are continually filling requests from school groups for information on labor subjects.

In an effort to assist local unions, the Council has retained a leading labor law firm in the state. The legal service has proved invaluable, particularly to the smaller locals. More and more of them have been calling upon us for assistance.

Statewide surveys on organizing possibilities have recently been made. The leads thus obtained were given

to the unions in the respective fields. Because of our stepped-up interest in organizing, we have been able to initiate numerous organizing campaigns in small plants and assist in coordinating some of the work in drives at larger plants.

The economy of Alabama is excellent. The state needs only to remove some of the many restrictive laws for the organized labor movement to grow and prosper as never before. With the present expanded activities of the AFL-CIO's Alabama Labor Council, we believe it can be done.

## BE UNION ON VACATION

*You'll enjoy your vacation a great deal more  
if you remember to look for the official union cards  
of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, AFL-CIO.*

*You'll have a much better time, you'll sleep better and eat better at*

*the sign of the union label.*

*Along the new Thruways, at many a  
highway junction, in cities and  
towns along the way, you will find*

*restaurants, motels, hotels and cafes  
displaying the familiar union shop cards.*

*Play it smart! Look for them!*



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# Let's Humanize Our Immigration Laws

By H. H. BOOKBINDER  
AFL-CIO Legislative Representative

SINCE July 1, fifty-two nations around the globe—including the United States—have been observing World Refugee Year. The result of a resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, World Refugee Year is a “human year”—in contrast to the scientific aspect of the recently concluded International Geophysical Year.

*“What a refugee wants most is to cease being a refugee.”*

This is the way the tragic problem of the world's millions of refugees was summed up by Claude de Kemoularia, special representative of the U.N. secretary-general for the World Refugee Year.

*“We have a home, sir. What we need is a house to put it in.”*

This is the way it was summed up to visitors to a refugee camp by a 10-year-old who with her family had lived all her life in the camp.

And another girl, one who probably has already become the world's best known and most honored refugee in modern times, has summed up both the despair and the prayers of the world's refugees. Anne Frank, the 13-year-old escapee from Hitler Germany, wrote in her diary, eight months before her death in a concentration camp:

*“It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals, because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet I keep them, because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart. I simply can't build up my hopes on a foundation consisting of confusion, misery and death.*

*“I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness. I hear the ever-approaching thunder, which will*

*destroy us, too. I can feel the sufferings of millions. And yet, if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, that this cruelty too will end, and that peace and tranquility will return again.*

*“In the meantime, I must uphold my ideals, for perhaps the time will come when I shall be able to carry them out.”*

Anne Frank's words of hope should inspire us all to redouble our efforts during World Refugee Year.

THE Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral, is chairman of the United States Committee for Refugees, the group which has the major responsibility for American participation in World Refugee Year. AFL-CIO President George Meany serves as vice-president of the committee and Joseph Beirne, chairman of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, is a member of its board of directors.

On the last Sunday before July 1, Dean Sayre devoted his sermon at the Cathedral to World Refugee Year. In a special Litany for Refugees, Dr. Sayre reminded us of the many areas in the world which cry out for help:

*For those who await salvation in the camps of Europe;*

*For Chinese who have abandoned familiar paths to seek freedom among strangers;*

*For children of Arabs whose lives are enclosed in barricades of bitterness;*

*For pilgrims of Tibet who brave the mountain passes to keep their souls in liberty;*

*For Algerians and Koreans fleeing from the ravages of war;*

*For Jews and Gentiles who struggle against tyranny and oppression;*

*For the destitute migrants of India and Pakistan;*

*Lord, hear our prayer.*

THE United States Committee for Refugees has formulated a modest governmental program for American participation in World Refugee year. AFL-CIO President Meany has endorsed this program as “the very least that the Administration and the Congress should approve.”

Needless to say, it cannot be expected that the world's millions of miserable, homeless refugees will find complete solutions to their problems during the next twelve months. But it can be hoped that during this period there can be an acceleration of our efforts so that a sizable number of refugees can begin to live in dignity, in comfort and, most of all, in hope.

During this World Refugee Year, moreover, it is to be hoped that a greater understanding of the refugee problem can be achieved among all the peoples of the world, including the United States, and that the proper basis may be laid for helping us meet our continuing responsibility in this crucial area for years to come.

In a recent statement before the Senate Judiciary Committee, the AFL-CIO testified that the most meaningful, most lasting and most appropriate thing Congress could do during World Refugee Year is to liberalize and humanize our basic immigration policies.

Immigration reform is only one facet of the total refugee problem. Relatively few of the world's homeless will ever have the opportunity, or the desire, to come to the United States. Their hopes lie rather in finding a secure haven either in the

land where they now are, in some other land culturally and otherwise bound to the country of their birth, or in returning to their native land.

But just as immigration is only part of the broad refugee problem, so refugee relief is only a part of the broad immigration problem. Even if there were no homeless groups of human beings driven from or escaping from all types of tyrannies, or the tragic consequences of wars, the United States would still be faced with the challenge of modifying its immigration laws.

**O**UR basic immigration law, the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952, has not reflected either the humanitarian, compassionate, democratic convictions of most Americans or the actual practices of the United States government.

During the period since the adoption of the Walter-McCarran Act, over a Presidential veto, there have been many harsh words spoken about that act—words spoken by both its defenders and its critics. As is so often true in political debate, neither side has been the model of objectivity.

If it is true that the act reflects discredited notions of racial superiority, as I believe it does, it does not follow that its authors or its supporters are "bigots" or "racists."

And, on the other hand, if it is true that the act's critics desire to change the law in order to allow more people, with less difficulty, to get to the United States, as I do desire, it is not true that we advocate unlimited numbers of immigrants or that we don't care whether subversives or criminal elements come in.

Although there are significant differences between these defenders and these critics of our basic immigration law, I do not believe that the differences are so irreconcilable that we cannot make substantial progress in bringing our law into harmony with American humanitarianism and actual American practice.

The AFL-CIO, from its very formation in 1955, has called upon Congress to "revise and liberalize the Walter-McCarran Act to reflect the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our country and to provide an immigration policy attuned to the present requirements of our nation and of the entire free world."

**T**HE AFL-CIO believes that the number of quota immigrants admitted annually can be increased from the present quota of 155,000 to 250,000 without undermining employment opportunities for American workers.

The AFL-CIO is fully conscious of its responsibilities to its membership when it makes this recommendation. We do not overlook the fact that there are still more than three million American workers totally unemployed. It does come to our attention every now and then that a recent immigrant is working at a given job while an "American" is without work. But we are just as conscious of the fact that other "Americans" are at jobs created by some creative, imaginative "immigrant."

We do not forget that thousands of "Americans" are able to retain their jobs because thousands of "immigrants" are buying shoes and milk and television sets and are going to the movies and eating in restaurants and sending their laundry out.

What are we talking about when we talk about 250,000 immigrants? We are talking about one-seventh of one per cent of the present American population. We are talking about one new American added to 700 other Americans.

We are talking about one-sixteenth as many new Americans from outside our borders as will be born inside our borders. Yes, we are talking about 250,000 persons born all over the world to join with 4,000,000 born each year to American parents here at home.

It is difficult for me to understand why our rapidly expanding native population is listed by economists and other observers of the social scene as an unmitigated blessing, but an increase in our population one-sixteenth as great looms in some people's minds as a national calamity.

In this connection, it must not be forgotten that only a portion of all immigrants — sometimes no more than a fourth or a third—are job-seekers. But every immigrant is a potential customer for the products of American workers.

And, of course, every employed immigrant is a producer who contributes to our total wealth, and with his earnings he becomes the customer for himself and his family.

To put it another way—what makes America the prosperous nation that it is? It is the combination of its labor force and the material resources of the nation brought together by creative management. The more there is of each of these factors, the greater is the wealth potential of the country. This is not just theory. The great waves of immigration to this country were always followed by great gains in our national prosperity.

The key to continuing prosperity in the United States does not lie in protectionism—neither the protectionism of tariffs nor of immigration restrictions. It lies rather in keeping our economic system properly balanced between production and consumption, so that the full production potential of the factors of production are properly matched by the consumption demands of our people.

We do recognize, however, that a sudden, major increase in our labor force could cause dislocations. We no longer have uncrossed frontiers. Automation has eliminated many jobs. There are dozens of economically distressed communities. For these reasons, the AFL-CIO does not advocate unrestricted immigration. We cannot be indifferent to short-run distress of our people. But we can afford to be much more generous than we are now.

**T**HE heart of our present immigration policy is the "national origins" quota system. It is significant that this approach was enacted following the First World War and was reenacted following the Second World War. During both of these periods this country was experiencing reaction to international entanglements, suspicion of foreigners and general intolerance of new ideas.

The essence of the national origins quota system is that quotas are assigned to the nations of the world in proportion to the numbers of Americans in 1920 who came from or are descended from those who came from those countries. As a result, countries like England and Germany and Ireland have large quotas which never get filled, while countries like Poland and Italy and Greece have never been able to meet more than a small part of their requests for visas.

The national origins quota system,

regardless of the conscious motivation of some of its backers, is based upon two false notions which the AFL-CIO thoroughly rejects: (1) that the population "mix" of 1920 is exactly right and anything else is "un-American," and (2) that there are some nations in the world which will provide better Americans than others.

As to the first, that America as it was in 1920 has some very special virtue, this is arrogance and unrealism of the worst sort. The population of America *before* 1920 was different from what it was in 1920, and the population *after* 1920 has changed every year since then. And it will—as it should—continue to change.

One of the unfortunate things in our history is that almost every generation of Americans has viewed succeeding ones with suspicion. The English immigrants distrusted the Irish; together they suspected the Germans; then all of them joined together in vilifying the Italians, and then the Slavs, and then the Chinese, and the Jews, and the Greeks.

Despite this history of initial distrust of new peoples, the record of adjustment, of integration, of accommodation is a glorious story. What we once used to refer to as the melting pot of America is now more appropriately and accurately described as the "mosaic" of American culture.

Assimilation and integration do not mean uniformity. It means that generation after generation America has shown its ingenuity in working out harmonious relationships between different cultural strains. Together, these strains have given us a composite known as "American."

If there is anything like a "pure-bred Anglo-Saxon American," he is probably like Martin Arrowsmith, whom Sinclair Lewis described as "a union of German, French, Scotch-Irish, perhaps a little Spanish, conceivably a little of the strains lumped together as 'Jewish,' and a great deal of English, which is itself a combination of primitive Briton, Celt, Phoenician, Roman, German, Dane and Swede."

For more than 400 years, starting with Christopher Columbus and his fellow voyagers, each wave of immigrants has brought something to add to the American story. There have been many great periods in American history. But only one year in

its long and proud history is numbered 1920. What is so particularly attractive about that year?

*Perhaps even more appropriate than the mosaic, the true image of America is the kaleidoscope. It is a mosaic of human beings that is always changing but encased in a basic framework of freedom, of brotherhood, of tolerance, of creativity.*

The fact is that we couldn't retain the 1920 "mix" even if we were all determined to do so. The large quotas assigned to some countries just do not get filled, while those of other nations are always exhausted. Special acts by Congress have permitted large numbers of refugees and relatives of American citizens to come in, without regard to national origins quotas. And even if we closed our borders completely and let no immigrants come in, we could do little about assuring a continuation of the existing "mix."

Hitler's plans for preserving the racial pattern in Nazi Germany were crude and inhuman. But his nonsense about the so-called Aryan race is based upon the same myths which explain the initial formulation of the national origins quota system.

**E**VERY serious study of this question has concluded that there is no such thing as racial superiority. Each race and each people produces a wide range of ability and intelligence. Behavioral patterns reflect the tensions and the opportunities of the respective societies.

There is nothing in the individual's genes which explains criminality or intolerance or subversiveness. For every criminal or subversive with a foreign-sounding name, the records are replete with hundreds of scientists, musicians, industrialists and every other type of positive contributor to the American way of life.

*The national origins quota system has no place on the American statute books. It reflects an un-American policy of racial superiority; it fails to reflect the needs of a democratic America in a changing world.*

In the absence of unrestricted immigration, there must be some criteria for selection of those who can be admitted in the place of the national origins quota system. We would support any standards which flow from this basic consideration:

*Which people does America need*

*most, and which people need America most?*

Earlier this year Congress itself most eloquently rejected the philosophy of the national origins system when it voted to admit Hawaii as a state. Our newest state has an Oriental majority. Of the 600,000 Hawaiians, 38 per cent are Japanese and only 20 per cent are white. Among these whites are not only Americans but Norwegians, Germans, Russians, Poles and Portuguese. And there are Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans and Koreans.

All of these Hawaiians have lived in peace and in harmony for many years. Now they will continue to do so, but as full-fledged American citizens.

**B**ECAUSE of the belief—a belief which we hope is unjustified—that Congress is not ready to make basic changes in the immigration law at this time, most of the bills in the Eighty-sixth Congress deal with only limited aspects of the problem. Only two bills (the Celler bill in the House and the Kennedy bill in the Senate) strike directly at the national origins quota system, although almost all proposals would strike at it indirectly by giving special consideration to certain groups of applicants.

Almost every one of these "half-way" bills contains worthwhile improvements in our present law. Some would increase the number of immigrants; some would permit the "pooling" of unused quotas and thus yield extra numbers to some countries; some would provide special arrangements for refugee-escapees; some would facilitate family reunification.

The AFL-CIO hopes that this Congress will defy the predictions of the pessimists and vote a basic immigration reform. If it does not do so, we do want to see progress toward that goal. When the suffering of human beings is involved, when families are waiting to be united, when refugees who have never seen a private home continue to yearn, we would not advise Congress to wait until a completely satisfactory bill can be passed. But we do earnestly hope that Congress will give its serious consideration to basic changes in the law and then go just as far as possible in the development of an immigration law consistent with democracy and humanitarianism.



# AS IT LOOKS FROM VERMONT

By CAMILLE E. ST. AMOUR

President, Vermont Labor Council

**I**T WOULD be unrealistic to state that there is no conflict of interest in labor-management relationships today and equally unrealistic to believe that there will be no such conflict in the future.

I believe the future of labor in Vermont will be marked by an increasing sense of personal responsibility on the part of industrial and labor leaders and laboring men and women within our state.

Whatever degree of personal responsibility we attain, balancing the legitimate needs of management with the legitimate needs of labor, will be the measure of respect and friendship entertained for labor and industry by the community of Vermont.

I would not solve labor-management problems by any struggle for domination because such a struggle would not lead to peaceful cooperation between management and labor. Labor boards and labor legislation, under the protection of the state, should see that wages, hours and working conditions are just and humane.

The complexities and tensions of modern life are reflected in the staggering number of mental patients in state and private institutions. In some states half or nearly half of the hospital beds are occupied by mental patients. Any persons within our borders who are weak, destitute or oppressed are worthy of our help and continuing consideration.

Perhaps what we really need in Vermont, more than anything else, for our future solidarity is a spiritual bomb that would dispel our prejudices and infect us all with the contagion of self-control and goodwill.

As the population of the United States increases, the population of Vermont will increase. An expanding population will create new businesses and new industries. One problem that will increasingly confront labor in Vermont, as elsewhere, will be centered on the displacement of manpower by modern machines, those masterpieces of skill and ingenuity.

In this age of jet propulsion and



CAMILLE E. ST. AMOUR

atomic power, we will need to keep our sights on the human element, lest we become the victims of a mechanized society that places overwhelming numbers of people in the ranks of the unemployed.

Whatever weaknesses appear in the field of labor-management relations can be shored up only by the conscience of those who grasp the challenges of the present and meet them with scholarship and wit, with understanding and sympathy, with boldness and courage, as we face the necessity of growth and change within the orbit of an expanding population.

Statesmanship of the highest order

will be the imperative in future legislation affecting labor and management. No partisan politics should be allowed to operate against the prevailing inventiveness and the friendly atmosphere that has been engendered in the councils of Vermont labor, in its attitude and in its principles toward cooperation with fair management. We must learn to compromise whenever it is possible to do it without dishonor.

Countries once considered backward are now surging with new industrial life. Countries that were once not so creative industrially are now furnishing us with competition in foreign markets and in our own local markets.

Yet new markets for the products of Vermont will arise in even the most remote of nations, for the hand of progress is still a blessing and will not easily be stayed.

Labor and management in Vermont will move in freedom toward their respective goals. Whatever conditions affect the financial integrity of one will in the long run affect the other.

I am proud of the record of progress compiled by Vermont labor. I firmly believe that Vermont's future economy will be reliably insured by those who inherit the best of our traditions and the unconquerable spirit of that band of inspired rebels who solved their own conflicting interests and gave us Vermont.

## INSIST UPON THE UNION LABEL

If you want the best possible value for your money—and, of course, you do—be sure that you spend your dollars and your pennies only on those goods and services that definitely merit a trade unionist's patronage.

It is an acknowledged fact that union-made goods and union-performed services are tops in value. Today, more than ever before, we all want more for our money. And you can get more—and easily—by remembering to follow just one simple rule . . . ALWAYS BUY UNION!

# Sukarno and 'Guided Democracy'

(Continued from Page 20)

matter through prejudiced American eyes, that I see it through the distorting lenses of Western liberal democracy, that Asian countries do not have to model themselves slavishly on Western forms, that there are other forms of democracy, that "guided democracy" is a specific Indonesian form, etc., etc. This argument, however, is shallow and completely evasive of the real issue.

It is not a question of a *specific* form of democratic institutionalism but of the inescapable essence of democracy itself. We do not have to be told that democratic institutions cannot be automatically transmitted from country to country or that specific forms differ and grow out of particular historical and cultural contexts. But our Indonesian friends have to be reminded that the just powers of democratic government are derived from the consent of the governed.

When those who are governed have no say in the way they are governed, when the powers of their elected representatives are progressively whittled away to practically the vanishing point, as is being done in Indonesia today, then *democracy per se* is in danger. This is the issue.

IT is not only Westerners who are raising these criticisms. Pandit Pant, the Home Minister of India, in opening the twenty-first Indian Political Conference, recently said:

"In the newly awakened Asian and African countries democratic ideals are being put to their severest test. Political freedom from foreign domination and colonial exploitation had come amidst social and economic poverty. There is today in these countries what has been aptly called 'the revolution of rising expectations.'

"One country after another has passed into authoritarian rule in the guise of 'controlled democracy,' 'guided democracy,' etc. The result is the same: negation of democracy. Its very nature compels it to suppress one freedom after another and to stop criticism. \* \* \*

"Every dictatorship, whether it claimed to be a dictatorship of the poor or the rich, is in the ultimate analysis the direction of the lives of

the many by a few who constitute themselves as the chosen class or race."

These strictures fit Indonesia's latest developments exactly.

This seems quite clear to me: "Guided democracy" can never bind the wounds at present afflicting Indonesia and bring the divided sections together. It can only make those divisions deeper and the developing hatreds more ineradicable, and this would be extremely tragic for such a beautiful country and for such a friendly, democratic people.

Sukarno did not have his way with the Constituent Assembly. In spite of pressure and hints of complete military dictatorship by the former Prime Minister, Djuanda, the Assembly didn't knuckle under and three times refused to give Sukarno's proposal on "guided democracy" the two-thirds vote required.

A united opposition of the two large Moslem parties, the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama, prevented Sukarno from getting the "legal" cover for his return to the 1945 constitution. The Nationalist party (PNI) and the Communist party (PKI) voted for Sukarno.

The two latter parties urged Sukarno to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and institute "guided democracy" via the '45 constitution by decree. As forcing tactics, they further announced that they would boycott the Constituent Assembly, thus ending, for all practical purposes, the sad and frustrating three-year history of that body.

In the meantime the country had reached its lowest ebb ever economically. Solid currency reserves are incredibly low, much below the safety point, and dwindling steadily every day.

The people are losing confidence in the national currency, as testified by the enormously inflated black market prices for the Indonesian rupiah. Prices are rising steadily, real wages are falling proportionately, social misery to the point of starvation is growing apace.

No wonder the Communists watch the developments in Indonesia with satisfaction and, while pretending to go along with Sukarno, wait quietly

behind the scenes to exploit the inevitable reaction to their advantage.

With the country divided right down the middle, with the economic picture so black, a leader of wisdom and courage would have retraced his steps.

The situation could still have been saved by returning to a basically democratic setup, granting substantial local autonomy to the outlying islands within a federated setup, insisting upon a firm anti-Communist policy internally and, above all, working out some *modus vivendi* with the rebels in order to stop the costly civil war which is still wracking Indonesia.

Unfortunately, however, Sukarno did not exhibit the saving grace of objective statesmanship. He prefers the policy of revenge and the annihilation of the rebels. He went ahead and dissolved the Constituent Assembly and, by decree, ordered a return to the 1945 constitution.

THE new institutional cabinet setup includes the ten-man top "inner cabinet" and twenty-three of "under-minister" level, all appointed by Sukarno. The "top" cabinet of ten will have practically unlimited powers. It is pretty much the same as the old, the chief differences being that Sukarno himself is now the Prime Minister (as well as commander-in-chief of the armed forces), the addition of General Nasution as Minister of Defense and Security, and the designation of former Prime Minister Djuanda as Chief Minister in charge also of finances.

Of the twenty-three others, seven will be *ex-officio*. These include the heads of the army, navy, air force, police as well as the Attorney-General, the vice-chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council and the chairman of the National Planning Council.

As to the others, it is worth noting that the military are well represented, with six army men and one air force representative included.

Finally must be mentioned the presence of two well-known Communist fellow travelers, Prijono, retained as Minister of Education—a former winner of the Stalin Peace Prize who, incidentally, has just returned from a wide tour of some Communist countries — and Sadjarwo, retained as Minister of Agri-

culture (now called Agrarian Minister).

This, then, is the formal setup. It cannot change things for the better, for it represents qualitatively no new vision or direction. It can only perpetuate the Indonesian tragedy, for it emphasizes narrow administrative power, controls instead of the generous broad political and social measures so necessary for salvaging the country.

Already chinks are appearing in the purportedly monolithic facade.

General Nasution, as Minister of Defense (as well as army chief of staff), is trying to "unify" the other sections under his control, which have traditionally been jealous of their autonomy. Already Subiakto, head of the navy, has been replaced,

while Suryadarma, head of the air force, has proposed that it be under the direction of Sukarno, not Nasution.

This latter fact is of special significance in view of the well-known fact that the Communists have infiltrated the air force more than any other branch of the service and do not want to be controlled by the anti-Communist Nasution. The implication is clear and far-reaching.

The chief problem in Indonesia is the welfare of the people. The merely administrative, organizational shufflings which have ensued are not calculated to be able to begin to solve the problem of the people's livelihood. All this can only play into the hands of the Communists.

They are playing a double-edged

game very skillfully. On the one hand they are trying to cash in by proclaiming their loyalty to the nationalism propounded by Sukarno. On the other hand they are exploiting the economic misery of the people created by the inefficiency and neglect of the same Sukarno.

For the time being, they are remaining unostentatiously in the background, pretending to go along, but taking advantage of the confusion and the instability which are weakening the other parties, while they are steadily gaining in strength.

This is the alarming fact that should give pause to those, including our own country, who are gambling on Sukarno's purported change of heart and upon Nasution's vaunted anti-communism.

labor people to understand more fully their obligations as religious persons, too.

The pattern is to have a co-chairman for religion and a co-chairman for labor, and a program or steering committee from both. We can help with program suggestions from the national office, and it is possible to secure a charter and maintain an effective relationship. A secretary who will get out notices of meetings is also essential. But it is a simple working relationship, and the keynote is always that of understanding fellowship.

I have been a financial secretary for a 1,500-member local, served on bargaining committees, as chief steward for the night shift and as a member of the union's regional board for New England during the war. It was there, when I was already a minister and had dropped out for a while because of an illness, that I gained the vision that religion and labor must be closer allies.

I know labor's problems and I know those of the clergy; both are large and difficult. But both are concerned with the two greatest voluntary organizations in the nation, organizations where the key word is "brotherhood," where the desire is for the good of all, and where a closer understanding can be one of the most important factors of the future for the welfare of all America.

This is a needed task for us all, to build a closer understanding and working relationship between religion and labor across the land.

## Religion and Labor

(Continued from Page 9)

ready to give them honest support rather than opposition even in many strike situations.

We have an annual Social Justice Award, presented last to the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee. Speeches given then in tribute by leaders of the three faiths have been printed in a pamphlet.

And last, and most important, there is the more recent development of local Religion and Labor Councils now being chartered as William Green Memorial Councils in a field work operation aided by the William Green Memorial Fund. That brings us to "The Shreveport Story."

What happened there is this: One of our seminary conferences was with the IBEW convention last fall in Cleveland, and subsequently through that international we made a mailing to all delegates about our work, asking support. We stated a standing policy, that for each \$3 of a group contribution, which is the rate for individual members, we would add one name to the mailing list of our monthly publication, *Religion and Labor*—suggesting that local clergymen be included.

IBEW Local 194 in Shreveport sent in \$60 and twenty names of clergymen—but that was not all. The word went to other leaders concerning this new thing, and the idea seemed so good to the Shreveport AFL-CIO Council that it adopted a

goal of securing enough group contributions from other locals to furnish *Religion and Labor* to all 133 clergymen of the community.

The best part is that the suggestion and initiative did not come from us but from concerned labor people.

We are suggesting that this be made even more vital wherever possible by getting a member of the parish or synagogue to take personally his first copy to the clergymen, to tell him of labor's concern for working together more closely, and to discuss the relation of religion and labor in our modern world.

In addition to this wider spread of *Religion and Labor*, a sample copy of which will be gladly sent anyone on request, there is the establishment of a local Religion and Labor Council, such as those operating in some cities as long as a dozen years.

Last February I was able to meet with Shreveport labor and religious leaders for their first session, including railroad brotherhood members and varied religious faiths. The pattern, as in most new groups, was for labor to invite the clergy as guests for the first meeting, then to prepare for subsequent monthly dutch-treat luncheons, with personal acquaintance and fellowship as the order of the day.

We do not ask clergymen to become propagandists for labor, only to understand; and we are asking



# LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

▶Redoubled efforts to organize run-away plants were voted by the 12,000-member Stove Mounters Union at its thirty-first convention. James M. Roberts, president, and Edward W. Kaiser, secretary-treasurer, were re-elected. The convention was held at Kankakee, Ill.

▶The U.S. Labor Department said that building trades workers won wage increases averaging 10 cents an hour in April, May and June. Second-quarter wage gains ranged from 4.2 cents an hour for painters to 11.9 cents an hour for carpenters, it was reported.

▶The Air Line Pilots Association has asked the Federal Aviation Agency for any factual evidence on which the agency based its proposal to ground all pilots at age 60 and prohibit pilots 55 or older from checking out on jets.

▶Jackson O. Valtair, international representative of the Stone Workers, was killed in an automobile accident at Newcomerstown, Ohio, a few hours after signing a contract with a nearby brick company. He had been on the union staff for nine years.

▶David Haddad, 68, is the 10,000th pensioner under the United Auto Workers program negotiated with the Chrysler Corporation nine years ago. He will receive a monthly pension of \$108 to supplement his social security benefits.

▶Labor and management in the men's clothing industry in Philadelphia have joined to establish a college scholarship fund in memory of Charles Weinstein, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who died suddenly last March.

▶Brendan Sexton of the United Auto Workers urged support of a bill to authorize federal funds to help state universities expand adult education extension programs. He is the head of the UAW's Education Department.

▶A two-year contract, retroactive to last March 8, has been signed by the Publishers Association of New York City and District 15, International Association of Machinists. The pact, covering 200 machinists on eleven New York newspapers, grants a \$7 weekly package increase in two steps.

▶The Arizona State AFL-CIO has named Eddie Poole of Phoenix as director of education. He is a member of Local 428 of the Operating Engineers and a graduate of the Arizona Labor School and the Rocky Mountain Labor School.

▶The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has been granted consultative status by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The ICFU has been invited to send an observer to the IAEA's general conference in Vienna next month.

▶The membership of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers was honored by the National Mental Health Center at a dinner in Denver for its support of the non-sectarian service institution. A plaque was presented to OCAW President O. A. Knight.

▶A free concert on the Mall in Central Park will be sponsored by the New York City AFL-CIO on August 22 as part of a program to encourage cultural activities.

▶Joseph Andaloro is the first beneficiary of the pension plan negotiated by Local 32-B, New York City, of the Building Service Employees. The plan became effective July 1.

▶During the first four months of 1959 the New York State Department of Labor collected more than \$100,000 in wages for 1,763 unpaid workers.

▶Two AFL-CIO representatives will take part in the United States Trade Fair opening September 1 in Madras, India. They are Harry Pollak, an AFL-CIO international representative, and John E. Cullerton, president of a local union in Chicago.

▶Virginia Payne—radio's "Ma Perkins"—has been elected president of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

## ILO Conference (Continued from Page 5)

ployer opposition to the conference actions on economic and social questions and particularly an unrestrained attack by a member of the U.S. employer delegation against the ILO budget.

His speech describing the \$9,600,000 budget for the ILO as "cavilling for a staggering expenditure" met with a very sharp reply from Sir Alfred Roberts of Britain, chairman of the workers' group in the conference.

As in the past, the American government delegation failed to support many of the positive actions taken by the conference dealing with social and economic issues. A last-minute decision by the U.S. government delegation to support the convention on a minimum age for fishermen was noteworthy because it was the first instance in recent years of the U.S. government voting for a convention dealing with an issue which was not highly political.

This may set a precedent for American government representatives at future conferences to consider proposed ILO conventions on their merits rather than, as heretofore, to reject them simply because they take the form of conventions.

*Union Barber Shops*  
**PROTECT YOUR HEALTH**

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State**—Ten years ago the threat of aggression was naked and blunt. Today the threat is at times more subtle, varied and devious, but it is no less dangerous. If we are to meet the old challenge under the new conditions, we must continue to remind ourselves that military strength and the courage to employ that strength if required were necessary to permit a decade of political and economic advancement and are the indispensable condition for further progress.



We must also continue to develop and expand the habits of consultation and the channels of communication which have contributed so much to prosperity and peace.

And we must continue to adapt our defenses to whatever new forms the challenge may take; but at the same time we must remain ready to explore any chance for achieving through negotiations a genuine resolution of the issues which threaten peace.

**Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers**—Why is it that in the United States, and in some other contemporary countries, in the Twentieth Century, most older people are looked upon by society generally as unwelcome and irksome burdens, whose unmet needs are regarded more as annoyances than responsibilities, as creatures who should be pushed aside and kept apart from the mainstream of life because they are considered to be drones, no longer useful to their younger fellow men?



Without subscribing to ancestor worship or agreeing categorically to the proposition that the accumulation of years necessarily means the accumulation of great wisdom and un-

erring judgment, it seems to me only morally right and humanly decent and socially beneficial that the elders in our society be accorded the respect due those who have weathered the responsibilities of maturity; that they be permitted to live honorably in the dignity befitting those who have contributed by their hands and brains to the generations following them; and that the way be left open for them to continue to participate, to whatever extent they are physically, intellectually and spiritually able, in the further advancement of the culture they helped to build.

If we shirk this responsibility, we impose suffering and hardship on those we should honor and respect. But the greater damage is done to ourselves in failing to take advantage of the experience, the wisdom, the knowledge and the lore our elders do have to offer us and our children.

**Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Senator from Missouri**—Official suppression of the truth generally is regarded as something alien to the American tradition of freedom and incompatible with our system of self-government. Yet, despite this national attitude, censorship and suppression of the truth are slowly becoming more and more commonplace in our federal government.



Some cases of withholding, suppression or delay of information may be attributed to military necessity or the requirements of national security. Some may be honest mistakes. Others may be blamed on bumbling or ineptitude.

But an alarmingly large number can be explained only as deliberate attempts by the public officials involved to manipulate the news either to avoid personal or political embarrassment, or for personal or political gain, or because they think the facts are simply none of the public's business.

The cases which fall in the latter

category not only are inexcusable but, if allowed to increase unchecked, could pose a serious threat to our survival as a free nation.

**Mark Starr, educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union**

—No single organized group in the United States has contributed so much to the welfare of the community as the trade unions. The unions have been the most consistent advocate of public education. No good cause has remained unsupported by the unions. Students need to see that unions furnish a unique enrichment of our democratic way of life. Students also need a corrective for the unconscious bias from which public opinion suffers with regard to labor.

No school should claim to have done its work unless it gives its students the facts of social life and equips its students to connect happily with the organized groups which constitute the structure of our modern community. The schools must aid our future citizens to replace a false picture by one based on facts.



**Lee W. Minton, president, Glass Bottle Blowers Association**—More

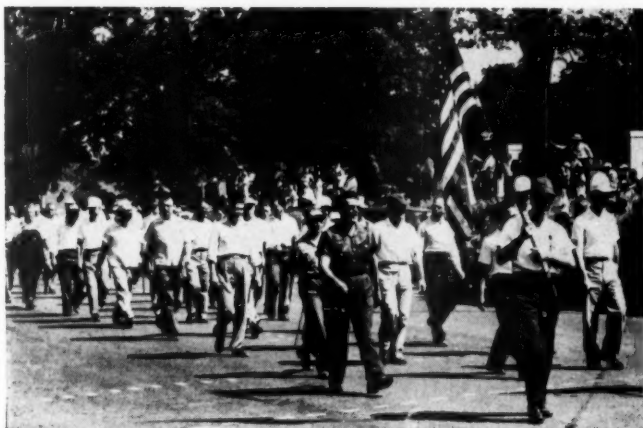
and more, in the field of labor relations, we are hearing talk of a hardening attitude on the part of some in management. If there is indeed a wide-scale offensive to weaken the trade union movement, all unions will suffer, with repercussions which could be felt by every working man and woman.

How must the labor movement act to resist this warfare? First of all, we must do everything possible to maintain and improve our strength.

Strength is all-important, but its proper use is no less vital. If we are attacked in an irresponsible way, we must repulse the attack in a spirit of responsibility. This might seem difficult at times, but it is important to labor's long-term struggle. For it is in the field of public opinion and public acceptance that labor must win.



# ***ENJOY the Labor Day Weekend AND STAY ALIVE!***



## ***Don't Let THIS Happen!***



**HOLIDAY WEEKENDS** are very dangerous periods. Highway accidents kill and maim and destroy.

Labor Day is labor's special holiday. Certainly it should not be darkened by death. This year the labor movement and the National Safety Council are putting on a campaign to reduce the traffic toll on Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday preceding labor's holiday and on Labor Day itself. We ask

the full cooperation of every union member. Drive carefully and sensibly. Don't speed. Don't try to drive too far in too short a time. Obey the rules of the road. Don't try to be a smart aleck or get away with anything. Observe Labor Day in proper fashion—and see to it that on Tuesday morning after Labor Day you're ready to go back to work instead of being one more victim of the slaughter on the highways.





## THANK UNIONISM for your VACATION WITH PAY

THE labor movement doesn't always receive proper recognition for all the good it has done. For example, history records that the free public schools were established in this country only because trade unionists demanded educational opportunity for all children as an essential ingredient of a democratic society. But millions of Americans don't realize that the trade unionists of yesteryear are to be thanked for the existence of our public schools.

Another great labor achievement is the annual vacation with pay. Not too many years ago, paid vacations were given only to the executives and just a small fraction of working people. Then organized labor pressed its demand for this benefit for all who toil. And the unions were successful. When you are enjoying your vacation with pay this summer—or whenever you take your vacation—remember that it's no gift from your employer but a solid and worthwhile gain that was fought for and won for you by organized labor.